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THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

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A National Magazine of Politics, Business, and Culture

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Hollywood's Halo

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Revolt Against Government

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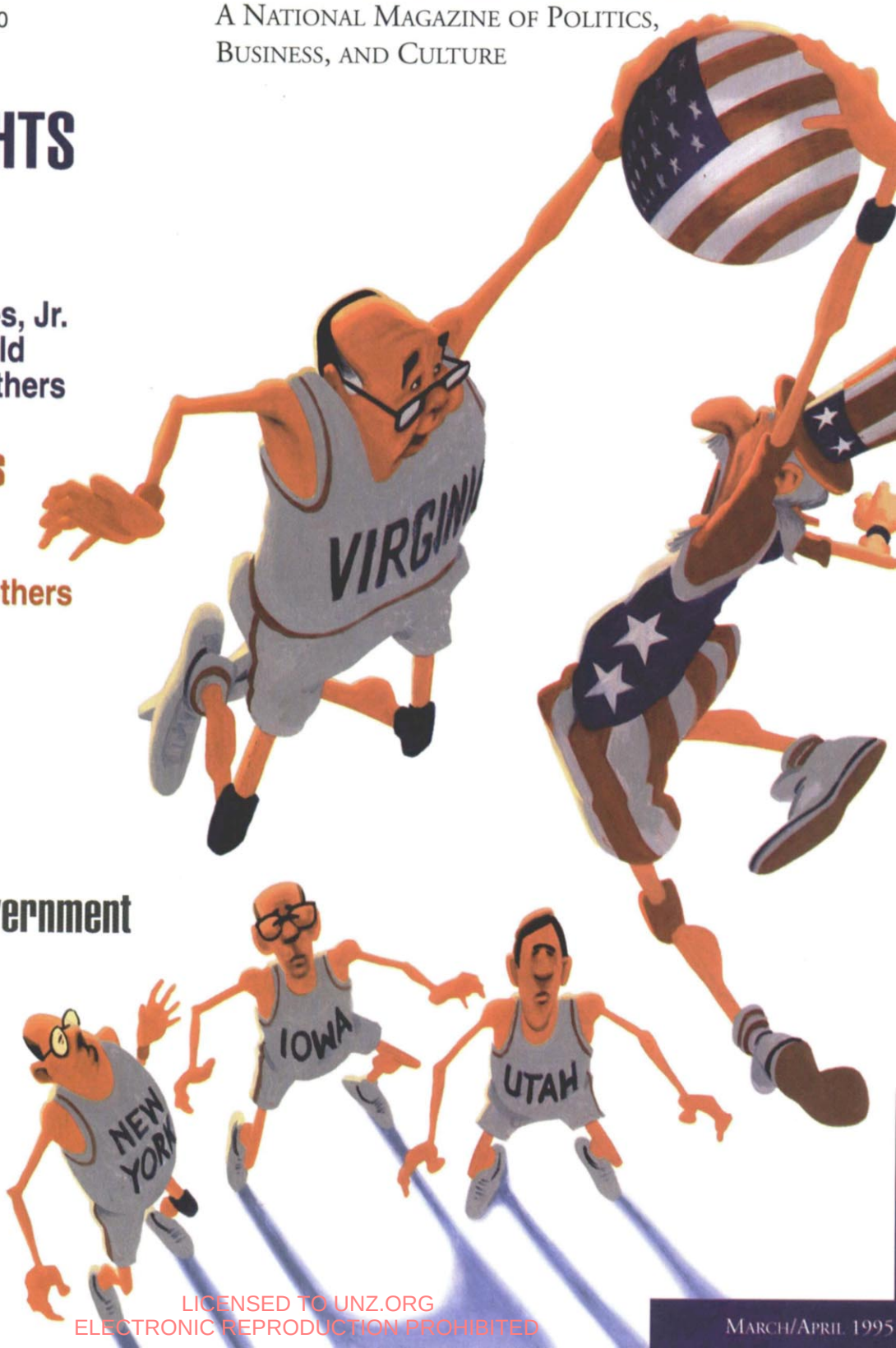

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March/April 1995

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THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

A National Magazine of Politics, Business, and Culture

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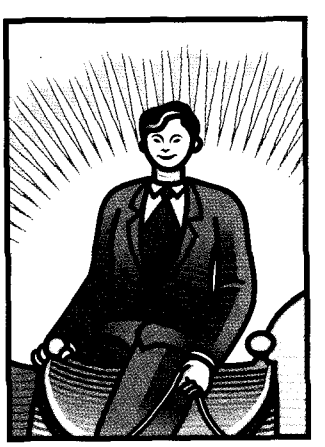

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Bird's Eye

Karl Zinsmeister

The One and the Many

A recurrent theme echoing through this issue of *The American Enterprise* is the simultaneous unity and distinctiveness of Americans. We are deeply connected and intermingled; yet we pursue life in a riotous variety of ways. "Out of many, one" is our national motto *(E Pluribus Unum)*, and shaping our national institutions so as to properly balance the areas where we are joined and the areas where we are separate is one of the great tasks of our public life.

Among other things, this is the key to establishing sensible rules to govern immigration. On the one hand the American creed is a universal one, built on Christian and classical understandings of human brotherhood and moral absolutes that transcend cultural boundaries. Because it is not our bloodlines that unify us but our joint commitment to freedom and self-rule, any persons who share those large ideals are capable of becoming Americans along with us.

Culture blending is not only tolerated in the United States, it is the national wellspring. As Stanley Crouch points out in an essay later in these pages, Americans have been cultural mulattos right from the origins of the frontiersman, who was part European technologist, part Indian naturalist. All of us are a high mix of Plymouth, Leiden, Krakow, Mali, and Monte Alban, whether we recognize it or not.

A SINGLE CONGRESSMAN MUST NOW REPRESENT MORE PEOPLE THAN ALL THE SETTLERS LIVING IN AMERICA WHEN BENJAMIN FRANKLIN WAS GROWING UP.

The success of our national formula depends on broad recognition of the depth of our interwovenness, a willingness to cherish and defend the goodness of our highly modified European culture, and the ability of each of us to preserve our own passionate idiosyncracies without holding ourselves apart from our fellow citizens in ways that would threaten fundamental American harmony.

For hybrid though we are, it is nonsense to argue that America can thrive without any common attachment to basic principles, without a common tongue, without a reasonable amount of common history and personal experience. If the rate at which new people and ideas flow into our national bloodstream is too hurried, or if new arrivals aren't encouraged and required to incorporate the essence of the United States into their own person, then the processes by which American citizens are made will break down.

Healthy absorption of cultural enrichments is our basic national story. But there is no use pretending it can proceed without cooperation and careful pacing. The basic point of the immigration proposals presented in this issue by Barry Chiswick is to maximize as much as possible the chances that future new Americans will be productive and concordant.

But immigration is only the most obvious place where Americans wrestle with the "one out of many" question. The tension between unity and diversity is also written right into the po-

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litical genetic code that created our nation as a republic of many different states. The struggle of state governments and localities to reclaim some of the powers monopolized by the feds over recent decades is the subject of our cover story by Russell Hittinger, and of our interview with Governor George Allen as well.

Hittinger's argument will come as a wake-up call to New Democrats and fiscal Republicans who imagine that November's electoral roar amounted to a request that Washington politicians squeeze the waste out of our federal government so it can operate more efficiently. Public appetites are actually gnawing for something far more substantial than that.

(Speaking of New Democrats in this context I can't resist telling an Al Gore joke I heard recently. Seems the vice president was interviewing bureaucrats to determine where he should begin his effort to streamline government. "What do you do?" he asked one employee. "Nothing," she replied. "And you?" he said to the next worker. "Nothing." Gore took out his pad and made a note..."Too much duplication of responsibilities.")

Our government problem is more fundamental than most of the political and media establishment are admitting. It isn't anything so modest as mincing government reform that's on the docket between now and the turn of the millennia; the rush is toward government replacement—specifically the devolution of vast stretches of federal authority to either local legislatures or private-sector alternatives. This is a real and burgeoning movement, not some philosophical vapor. And as Michael Rothschild drives home on pages 80–82, it is powered by forces much deeper than political whim.

I note with amusement that Governor Allen was elected under the slogan "Small Government is Beautiful"—appropriating for conservative politics the "small is beautiful" buzz phrase that E. F. Schumacher, a proto-Green, communitarian whom I read closely in my youth, first popularized during the 1960s and '70s. I believe it is significant that the mantle of decentralism, direct democracy, and localism has now passed to the political Right, while the Left has become the defender of the monolithic state, command-and-control social policy, and assembly-line uniformity in public services. This is not only bad politics, it is disastrous logic.

Small IS beautiful today. Here are some reasons why:

First, the national scale is not a human one. A single congressman must now represent about 575,000 people —more than all the settlers living in America when Benjamin Franklin was growing up. This produces a distant, anonymous politics, where most citizens cannot make their voices heard by their representatives.

Second, decentralism is more productive because it allows errors to cancel. In their collective life, a people will inevitably make some bad choices. Where there is but one rule-setting authority, the entire society can veer off the road after a single false judgment. But in a government of myriad small pieces, no large block of the population will ever plunge too far into the weeds—because the existence of alternatives all around will make it clear when the error-committer first starts to drift into trouble.

Third, despite television, interstate highways, and high mobility rates, various regions of the United States continue to follow different paths of living and believing. Texas, New Hampshire, and Ohio are crisply distinctive in many important ways, and trying to rule the inhabitants of those regions with uniform standards is a recipe for poor policy fits and public resentment. Even within a single state it can be almost impossible to make accurate generalizations about how people want to conduct their affairs. (Blake Hurst illustrates this in a plaintive piece of local reporting in JOURNAL.) On topics like building regulations, pollution control, school standards, and gun laws, the interests of someone residing in New York City are radically dissimilar from the interests of someone residing in Trumansburg, New York. If legislators insist on statewide controls it is almost inevitable that one citizen or the other will have to live under tyrannically inappropriate rules. (See Bill Kauffman's elegiac exploration of this subject on pages 37–41.)

THE IDEA THAT 255 MILLION AMERICANS CAN BE ORDERED IN THE DETAILS OF THEIR DAILY LIVES BY A SMALL FRATERNITY OF MEN AND WOMEN VIBRATING TOGETHER IN WASHINGTON IS BIZARRELY ANTIQUARIAN.

Fourth, centralism in government no longer makes sense (if ever it did) because resources and talent are no longer centralized in the United States. Two-thirds of the Fortune 500 firms headquartered in Manhattan 25 years ago have since dispersed across our provinces. The world's richest art museum is no longer New York's Metropolitan, but the Getty in Malibu. The University of Texas endowment now looms over Yale's and Princeton's. The America's Cup rests not in Newport but San Diego. And our robber barons live in Seattle and Bentonville, not Pittsburgh or Detroit.

A fifth reason why centralism is outmoded in government is because it has recently become outmoded everywhere else. Cities are no longer centralized. Computer networks are no longer centralized. Corporations are no longer centralized. Chaos has arrived, and it works.

Nor should public administration of society be condensed into a single directorate. The idea that 255 million scrappy Americans ranging over 3.5 million square miles of Godly-various landscape can be regularly ordered in the details of their daily lives by a small extended fraternity who all vibrate to the same provincial newspaper, who all converse in a slavishly uniform language, who all rely on the same narrow clutch of experts and idea merchants, is bizarrely antiquarian, a war-footing folly, a practice arrogant in its very conception, doomed to rest on compulsion.

Rule from Washington is simply an archaism. It is time to let the Many rule themselves once again, as they did for most of American history. Competence abounds in our localities, so no more dictation; enough coerced uniformity. Let the indissolvable American unity express itself in free acts of voluntary association and joint action. To demand more would be unAmerican.

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Sidelights

American ingenuity department: A New York fortune cookie maker will produce and market the novelties in **China**, where they are unknown. · · · In 1994, **Japan** produced 6 percent fewer cars and trucks than in 1993; domestic sales nudged up for the first rise in four years, while exports declined for the ninth straight year (by 11 percent.) ❧ **Vladimir Polevanov**, Russia's privatization minister, was fired from that position by **Boris Yeltsin** after he advocated renationalizing newly privatized companies ❧ The age group least likely to recycle is 18- to 29-year-olds, a Roper Starch Worldwide survey reports. ❧ Do you feel safer? The first $200 million from the crime bill has been sent to 392 communities, including **Moffett, Okla.** (pop. 340), which received $106,000 to hire policemen, the *Wall Street Journal* reports. Local officials are perplexed: they have no police force, and no idea how the town's $10,000 budget will accommodate the required $26,500 in matching funds. ❧ "The National Rifle Association is the reason the Republicans control the House," Clinton told the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. "The fight for the assault weapons ban cost 20 Democratic members their seats in Congress." · · · Commenting on the recent elections, Democratic fundraiser **Barbra Streisand** said, "I think the people will start to...see the truth and who they voted for. They voted against themselves, and they didn't even know it." · · · Timing problem: Cornell political scientist **Theodore Lowi** had his latest book at the printer on election day. Its title: *The End of the Republican Era*. · · · Former Communist Party leader **Angela Davis** is now executive director of **Jesse Jackson**'s National Rainbow Coalition. ❧ The *Los Angeles Times* reports that California lawyers' fees in 1992 totaled $16.3 billion—more than the state's combined expenditures for auto repairs, funerals, tanning salons, photo finishing, videotape rentals, detectives, armored car guards, bug exterminators, laundry, haircuts, day care, shoe repairs, and septic tank cleaning. · · · **C. Vernon Mason**, most famous as a lawyer for **Tawana Brawley**, has been disbarred in New York after being found guilty in 66 of 71 charges against him, including fee-gouging and theft.

Entering an exhibit on the history of mirrors at the New York State Museum in Albany, one of your editors learned of a new disability in need of sensitive handling. "***Warning:*** Visitors suffering from Catoptricophobia may find this exhibit disturbing." That's right. It means "fear of mirrors." · · · The National Association for the Deaf has a standing policy discouraging Kochlear implants for non-hearing children on the grounds that the implants "deprive a deaf child of her deaf culture." ❧ Government health care: The **Cato Institute** reports that half of all walk-in patients wait up to three hours for routine treatment in Veterans Administration hospitals, and one in nine "urgent" cases wait up to three hours; the waiting lists for specialized examination and treatment are months-long. ❧ "One of the better-kept secrets about teen pregnancy is that many of the babies born to adolescents are anything but 'unwanted,' " **Nell Bernstein** writes in *Mother Jones*. "Ask a 15-year-old why she got pregnant and she's more likely to tell you that she wanted company than that she didn't know how to use a condom." ❧ From *Professing Feminism: Cautionary Tales from the Strange New World of Women's Studies*, by women's studies professors **Daphne Patai** and **Noretta Koertge**: "I remember feeling afraid in the classroom.... One time when I was teaching an advanced seminar, the class was polarized, literally. The lesbians sat on one side, the straights on the other, and I was constantly terrified that they would attack each other physically." ❧ *Forbes* reports that "contemporary Christian music," including Christian rap and Christian heavy-metal rock, is taking off: the billion-dollar industry grew 40 percent between 1992 and 1993; *Billboard* magazine is tracking religious bookstores; over 500 radio stations play the music, up from under 200 a decade ago; and the **Z Music Television** channel now reaches 15 million homes, marketed as an alternative to MTV for local cable systems.

Just opened in **Manhattan** is a restaurant staffed by two dozen sets of identical twins, wearing identical clothes, working identical hours. · · · After losing its chef Washington, D.C's **Insect Club** offers only snacks like trail mix with crickets and meal worms, instead of previous heartier fare like insect pizzas and won tons. ❧ Unexpected praise: **Roger Wilkins** writes, "As an unabashed liberal—and a black one to boot—I was astonished...to find myself concluding that Speaker **Newt Gingrich**'s maiden oratory was moving me more than any political statement I'd heard since LBJ introduced the Voting Rights Act almost 30 years ago." · · · *Washington Post* critic **William F. Powers** said of the same speech, "the man managed to come across in all kinds of subtle ways as an easy, generous spirit, totally unlike the menace he was supposed to be."

—SW

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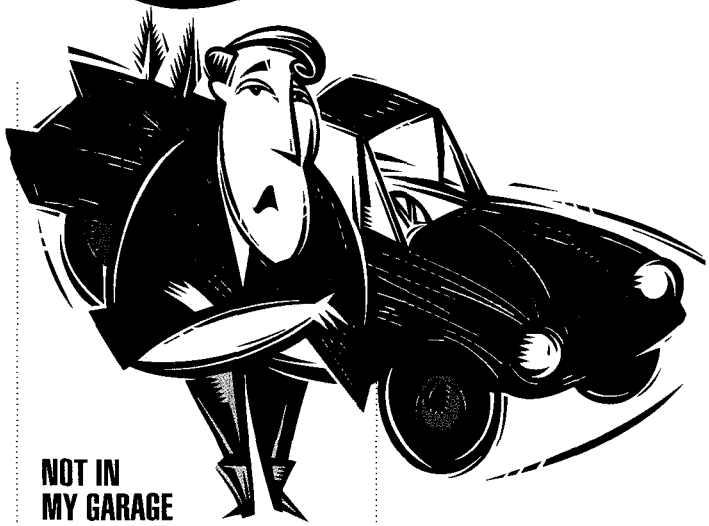

NOT IN MY GARAGE

"Nobody's going to tell me I can't drive my truck," insists Glen Cauley. The 31-year-old auto-bodyshop worker in suburban Pittsburgh is the proud owner of a vintage 1961 Chevy pickup that he spent six months restoring and painting "Porsche red." Yet thanks to the Clean Air Act, Cauley's truck may soon flunk a new test for auto emissions. "Laws like this are meant to be broken," Cauley told the *Wall Street Journal*, in a story that puts the lie to the notion that ordinary folks don't really find the federal government too intrusive in their lives.

The *Journal* reports that Pennsylvania is just one of numerous states, including Texas, Maine, and Virginia, where public opposition is derailing the Environmental Protection Agency's efforts to crack down on auto emissions. The EPA's current strategy is to set up centralized test-only centers for auto emissions; if your car fails, you must go somewhere else to have it fixed and then wait in line again at the testing center. "Most people I know have better things to do with their time," says Joe Frena of Pittsburgh.

Of course, if the EPA is prevented from forcing air-quality improvements down drivers' throats, they'll go back to "stationary sources—and that means hitting business," says Joseph Minott of Philadelphia's Clean Air Council. "Meanwhile," the *Journal* concludes, "Quentin Haigy is pondering what clean air has done for him lately. His face smudged with soot, he is on a short lunch break from his job at the Clairton coke mill.... He says he once went searching for work in Alaska, where they have very clean air. Now, he says, he has a Cadillac and a good job that pays union wages. 'These clean-air people want everything perfect,' he says, 'like Alaska'—where he couldn't find as good a job."

THE AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT MARCHES ON

One of the editors walked down to his rural post office a few weeks ago and found the place strewn with sawdust and glass and carpenter's tools. The door had been removed.

"What happened?" he asked the postmaster. "Did the storm last night shatter the glass?"

"No," the postmaster replied, "they told us we had to be handicapped-accessible."

"How many handicapped people use this post office?"

"None. And we told them that. You know what they said? 'Find some.' "

AMERICANS WITHOUT COMMON SENSE ACT

When the Americans with Disabilities Act was passed in 1990, it was billed as a sensible effort to provide "reasonable accommodation" for disabled people. That's not how it has been applied by bureaucrats and the courts, though.

For one thing, among the enormous flood of complaints filed with the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission since the statute's passage, only about a fifth are over alleged failures to "provide reasonable accommodation." In a majority of cases, the act has been invoked by a fired employee with a beef. And the creativity with which suing attorneys have defined disability is breathtaking—people who smell bad, alcoholics, individuals with "bad nerves," and many other folks are claiming refuge from employer disciplines under the ADA civil rights tent.

And even in the narrower area of "reasonable accommodation," the ADA and its spawn in local law have created the same "victims' rights" distortions brought on by earlier blanket laws forbidding "discrimination."

Take the case of New York City's public toilets. As visitors quickly learn, there aren't any. In 1991 the city proposed solving this rather urgent problem by testing six toilet kiosks specially designed for narrow, unforgiving urban sidewalks. But wheelchairs couldn't fit in them. Illegal toilets, in other words.

The city proposed providing wheelchair-accessible toilets in nearby buildings. "Discrimination in its purest form," answered the lawyers. The law "requires that everyone go to the bathroom in exactly the same place," explained a spokesman for the disabled.

So at every test location, instead of erecting one kiosk the city had to erect two—one with a full-time attendant for wheelchair-users, and one for everyone else. The regular toilets averaged 3,000 flushes per week. (That's about one every two minutes all through normal waking hours. Clearly, New York needs johns.) The others were virtually unused, according to New York lawyer Philip Howard.

Bringing toilets to the public with these special accommodations for the disabled would take vastly more money and precious urban space than the original city proposals, so this simple, commonsensical effort to bring water closets to a clamoring public has ground to a halt. Expect New Yorkers to continue their recent habit of periodically urinating and defecating on the public streets and sidewalks.

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INCESTUOUS BANKING

Fannie Mae—a government-backed creature of the New Deal officially known as the Federal National Mortgage Association—is a highly profitable buyer of mortgage loans. And for a buttoned-down financial organization, it has been supporting some strange causes, including radical groups hostile to the mortgage industry it was created to serve. The Capital Research Center recently reported that Fannie Mae's philanthropy grant list is peppered with six-figure donations to left-wing groups. Most interesting is a $100,000 donation to ACORN, a fringe organization that organizes housing demonstrations and regularly demands more government controls on banks and savings and loans in order to force increased mortgage lending in inner-city areas.

The recently revised Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) is the epitome of the sort of regulation ACORN backs. Bankers complain about the costly burden of collecting and taking into consideration the information on race and gender that CRA regulations demand. Complying with the regs can require special loan arrangements, even below-market interest rates, for minority applicants. And because such loans are by definition high risk, they are often then sold off to Fannie Mae in the secondary mortgage market. Fannie Mae has come to dominate this market thanks in no small part to the special exemptions from banking regulations that it enjoys as a quasi-governmental body.

The 104th Congress might want to investigate the cozy relationships between Fannie Mae and the housing activists who push government rules that ultimately boost Fannie Mae's position at the edge of mortgage markets.

—Jeff Taylor
is a national political reporter for Evans and Novak.

CALIFORNIA'S NEW CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

What California did to fuel the national debates on tax limits and illegal immigration, it promises to do in 1996 for civil rights. A strong anti-quota amendment to the state constitution, dubbed the "California Civil Rights Initiative," will very likely be qualified for the March 1996 ballot, when the state's presidential primary occurs. The new civil rights debate that is already resulting may set off a nationwide firestorm over the contentious issues of race, gender, and reverse discrimination. The CCRI's sponsors view that as long overdue.

At the heart of the proposed initiative is this simple proposition: "Neither the state of California nor any of its political subdivisions or agents shall use race, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin as a criterion for either discriminating against or granting preferential treatment to any individual or group in the operation of the state's system of public employment, public education, or public contracting."

This core principle is neither original nor radical. It's a pure restatement of the 14th Amendment's guarantee of equal justice under the law, and Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. So why amend California's constitution with language and law that already exist? The drafters of CCRI view the initiative as a necessary means of reaffirming equal justice principles that have been perverted by state and local affirmative action policies. As Bay Area professor Glynn Custred, one of CCRI's co-authors, notes: "It's a complete mess. Everything in the Civil Rights Act has been ignored. Something has to be done."

Custred, a member of the California Association of Scholars, cites the annual introduction of an "Educational Equity" bill in the state legislature as an example of affirmative action gone awry. "It's basically a Graduation Quota Bill," Custred explains, which mandates that every first-year class of the state's publicly funded colleges and universities reflect the racial and ethnic composition of the state's graduating high school classes. This and other blatant examples of discrimination in the ivory tower drove Custred and his colleague Tom Wood to draft CCRI.

Last summer, state Assemblyman Bernie Richter (R-Chico) introduced a version of Custred and Wood's amendment in the state legislature. The bill, co-sponsored by a bipartisan group of 43 members, failed at the committee level on a straight party-line vote. Undaunted, Richter has reintroduced the bill this year as Assembly Constitutional Amendment 2.

This sort of two-front approach—combining regular legislation and popular referenda—worked successfully for organizers of the "Three Strikes and You're Out" initiative. A three-strikes bill passed in the state legislature last spring; Proposition 184, the three-strikes initiative, passed in the general election last fall. Doing both "is a good way to get the message out there," says Custred.

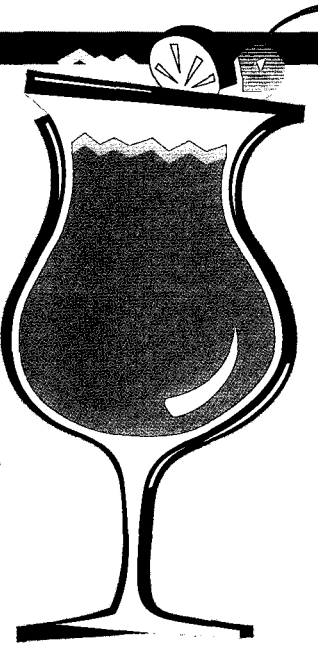
Outside educational institutions, the greatest ferment in support of CCRI may come from those who have been

ALGAE ROASTING ON AN OPEN FIRE...

The Performing Arts Center in "alternative" hotbed Ithaca, New York, recently announced "the grand opening of the all-new Blue-Green Super Bar, offering nutritious California Shakes and Sun Smoothies, products made with the finest quality blue-green algae."

It's a relief to know they're eschewing cheap imitations.

A week later, the city newspaper announced that a local alternative spirituality group was sponsoring a coal-walking open house. One firewalker effused over his first encounter with the embers: "From that moment on my life was forever and permanently changed...a giant, continuous, and life-altering assimilation process occurred." The admission fee for the encounter was $60.



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wronged by affirmative action policies in public employment and contracting. The San Francisco Fire Department, for example, is under a consent decree to increase the number of women and minorities. Ray Batz, a white San Francisco firefighter, says, "Most of us are scared. We feel mad, distraught, and stepped on."

Firefighters in Los Angeles know that same feeling. The L.A. department came under heavy criticism last year over charges that the agency discriminated against women and minorities. A city audit concluded that women and minorities weren't being hired or promoted in a fair manner. Meanwhile, 5,000 applicants were turned away from even taking the department's exam because they were white males.

Similarly, L.A. City Council members have called on the police department to eliminate a requirement that recruits scale a six-foot wall—because it discriminates against women. Another plan mercifully rejected by the Civil Service Commission would have revised criteria for LAPD lieutenant candidates so that female candidates lacking supervisory experience would be favored. And in Pasadena, Armenians—not exactly a historically discriminated against minority in the United States—have convinced the City Council to give them municipal set-asides.

Backers have yet to conduct polling specific to the initiative, but general opposition to this sort of preferential policy is overwhelming. According to Custred, between 70 and 75 percent of the state's population, cutting across racial lines, is opposed to preferential policies. CCRI organizers are hoping these disgruntled masses will put their John Hancocks on the line, because it will take over 690,000 valid signatures (meaning a total of about 1 million collected), gathered over just the next few months, in order to qualify the initiative for the ballot.

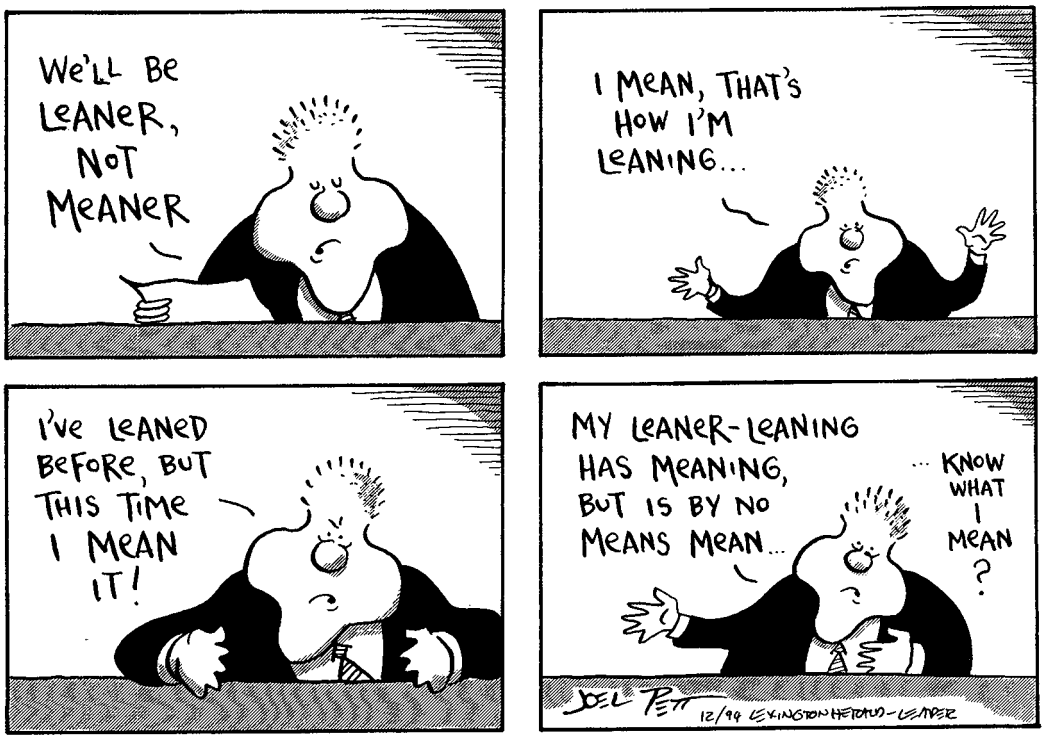
That is a formidable task, but Ward Connerly, a University of California regent, believes the initiative has an "excellent" chance of passing—and that it is overdue. "I am thankful for Dr. Martin Luther King and all the freedom-fighters who fought for equal opportunity," said Connerly, who is black. "But now it's time to move to the next chapter in the history of this state. It's time to take the training wheels off."

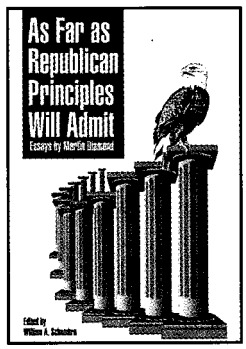
*—**Michelle Maglalang Malkin** is a Los Angeles journalist and the 1995 Warren Brookes Fellow at the Competitive Enterprise Institute.*

DIRTY LITTLE SECRET

At many competitive colleges today, SAT scores 200 points or more below what would disqualify any white applicant from admission will gain an acceptance letter for a member of a designated racial or ethnic minority group. Such discrimination is typically justified on the grounds that minority candidates come from poorer socioeconomic backgrounds and thus deserve special consideration. But at least at elite universities this justification for affirmative action may be unfounded. After examining internal university records, Cornell student Kenneth Lee recently reported that "most minority students at Cornell are from the upper strata of society and have not faced much adversity in their lives. A majority of Hispanic applicants, for instance, have parents whose occupation is in a professional field. Contrary to claims of being societal victims, it turns out that most of the 'disadvantaged' minorities at Cornell come from affluent neighborhoods." Thomas Sowell presents a similar finding in his book *Inside American Education*, where he reports that minority students enjoying affirmative action privileges at Cornell come from suburban neighborhoods in up to two cases out of three.

Joel Pett/*Lexington Herald-Leader*





FEDERALISM FOR EXPERTS

Politicians have recently begun to talk anew about federalism and the balance of powers between national and state governments. As the debate proceeds, here is a list of works available from the American Enterprise Institute that serious students of the subject may want to consult: *As Far as Republican Principles Will Admit*, by Martin Diamond; *Taking the Constitution Seriously*, by Walter Berns; *Here the People Rule*, by Edward C. Banfield; and *How Federal Is the Constitution?*, edited by Robert A. Goldwin and William A. Schambra. For more information, call 1-800-269-6267.

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WHAT MAKES AN AMERICAN?

At the same time that our nation is a moral idea open to all, it is also a geographic, physical, and material fact, with all the limitations and constraints this implies. The particular fact and the universal idea are not necessarily in contradiction, but they cannot co-exist without difficulty. We see this in many places in American life, but in perhaps its most explicit form in immigration and naturalization policy.

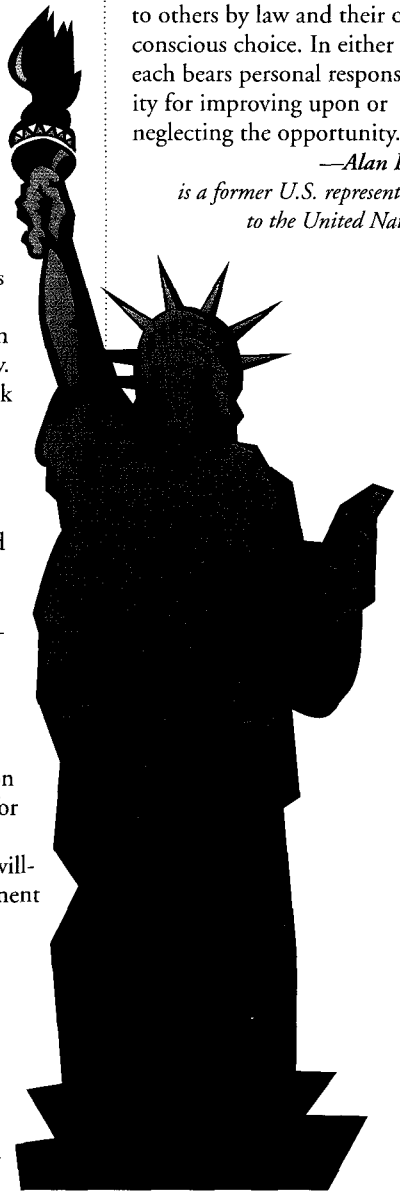
The suspicion that bigotry fuels current concerns over immigration has to be tempered by common sense. However generous America's ideals, at any given moment her resources, infrastructure, and economic capacity are limited. Moreover, the successful acculturation of newcomers takes time and effort. Our standard of living could deteriorate, and our already-threatened sense of common nationality could further disintegrate, if the pace of immigration outruns the nation's material and cultural capacity to assimilate new arrivals.

Given these practical considerations, it makes sense to regulate the flow of immigrants. It also makes sense to regulate access to the full privileges of citizenship. Our moral creed may demand that we acknowledge in all human beings a common pedigree in the family of man. This doesn't mean that we must promise to fit permanently into our house anyone who shows up at any time. We also have to keep in mind that if we adopt impractical policies that lead to the failure of representative government here, we will do immeasurable damage to the cause of liberty everywhere.

This means that we should regulate immigration in ways that protect our material well-being, and offer citizenship on terms that strengthen our common identity as a people. Present policies are inadequate in both respects. Because of the emphasis on family reunification, we do not screen adequately for economic impact. We have also failed to think through requirements for citizenship that might help to strengthen our common identity, rather than create new voting constituents for language and other cultural demands that will weaken and undermine it. We should, for example, put more emphasis on letting people into the country who will make an economic contribution at various levels of business activity (including guest workers for farm and service jobs our current citizens find less attractive.) Immigrants should be barred from access to government-funded social welfare services until after a residency period long enough to demonstrate that access to such services played no role in their decision to come to this country. We have the right to ask immigrants to be taxpayers rather than tax consumers. I do not believe that all immigrants should be barred from temporary access to public assistance. Anyone can suffer temporary reverses, and immigrants who have worked and paid taxes for a number of years should be able to call on their fellow taxpayers for temporary relief in an emergency. However, willfully chronic or permanent dependency should be grounds for revocation of immigrant status.

In a representative democracy citizenship should not be treated as an automatic entitlement after some specified period of residency. Naturalization should involve terms and conditions that give prospective citizens an opportunity to demonstrate their commitment to the country. As at present, a meaningful language requirement should be enforced. Beyond demonstrating basic civic knowledge, as presently required, prospective citizens should be required to give evidence that they have been actively involved in civic affairs in their community. We should use the naturalization process to remind both new citizens and old that it is a privilege to be a citizen of the United States. It is granted to some by God and the accident of birth, to others by law and their own conscious choice. In either case each bears personal responsibility for improving upon or neglecting the opportunity.

—Alan Keyes
is a former U.S. representative to the United Nations.



FROM LOTHARIO TO FAMILY DEFENDER

Actor Warren Beatty, a poster child for the sexual revolution, now talks about "the excitement of monogamy" and muses on the revolution he helped glamorize: "It was an amazing opportunity for a generation of people to see that this kind of freedom—or license, if you want a pejorative—is certainly not the answer to happiness." Though he insists he has no regrets, he admits that "people change if they want very much to change. Family is one of those things with the power to change them."

YOSEMITE SAM

When Sam Donaldson, who owns a house and livestock in New Mexico, was asked about environmentalists' plans to reintroduce wolves into Western lands, he replied: "Well, they're not introducing [them] in New Mexico.... Come on, coppers, get me. Wolves eat livestock. Lions eat livestock. A mother lion...took 70 ewes two years ago...let me just say to all of you nature lovers. The lions are proliferating like jack-rabbits. If wolves proliferate like they once did, the ranchers are going to be driven out of business. That may be wonderful for people who say, 'I love the wolf.' But you're going to have to subsidize the rancher and find some other work for him."

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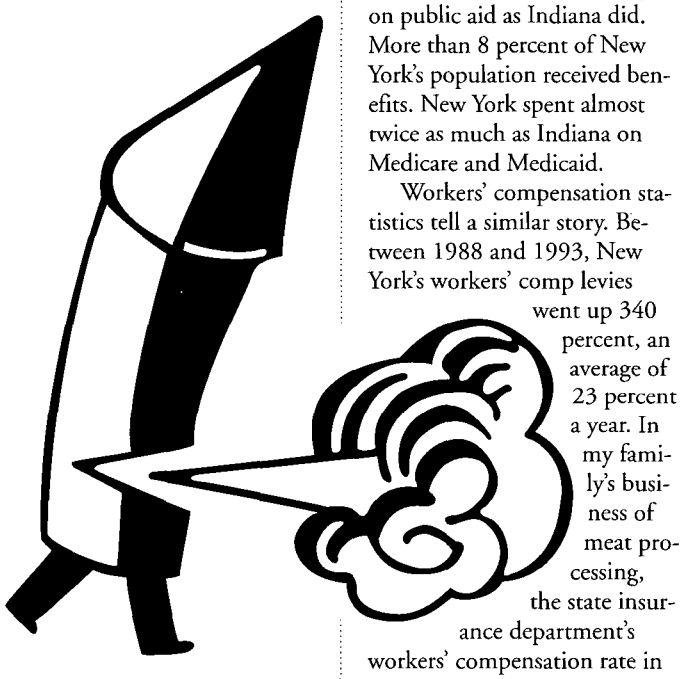
LOCALISM GOES GLOBAL

The trend toward decentralized, local decision making isn't confined to the United States; it's a global trend as well. "Small nations now have advantages in the competition for international markets," writes Nobel laureate economist Gary S. Becker. "Since 1950, income has risen somewhat faster in smaller nations than it has in bigger ones."

The value of decentralization, Becker points out, is both economic and cultural. For example, "it is commonly believed that French-speaking Quebec will decline economically if it separates from the rest of Canada.... [But] after perhaps a severe readjustment period, Quebec could find a prosperous place in the world economy by trading with Canada, the U.S., and Mexico.... That separation could also help the economies of English-speaking Canada because it would reduce the confrontations with Quebec over the allocation of tax revenues and government expenditures." In short, "nationalism is merely riding the crest of world trade to forge new nations."

In a 1991 talk in Taiwan, American Enterprise Institute President Christopher DeMuth made a similar argument against bigger-is-better thinking: "Traditionally, the nation-state provided two major benefits, both of which tended to increase with the state's territory...physical protection against external enemies and an extensive internal market.... But the first...is becoming less important with the spread of democratic forms of government, because democracies are highly disinclined to make war on their neighbors; and the second is becoming less important with the growth of international trade and commerce—some of it due to the liberalizing actions of governments, some of it due to the emergence of technologies resistant to government control, all of it tending to make the economic benefits of extended markets available without regard to the geographic size of the individual state."



NEW YORK BURDENS THE PRODUCTIVE

From 1969 to 1990, New York ranked dead last in job growth among the 48 continental states, according to a recent Federal Reserve study. Just over the last four years, New York lost 516,000 jobs—more than a third of the slots lost in the entire United States over that period. My family has operated a business in New York for 160 years, and I think I can explain these appalling statistics.

New York's anti-business climate becomes clear when the state is contrasted with Indiana, the state where I went to college. From 1983 to 1992, population grew 3 percent in both New York and Indiana, but employment in Indiana grew by 16 percent, while in New York it rose only 6 percent. The contrast is even starker in manufacturing jobs, where employment in Indiana grew from 708,000 to 733,000, while New York's manufacturing jobs tumbled from 1.5 million to 1.2 million.

As good jobs were disappearing in New York, government entitlements were growing. In 1992, New York spent *four times* as much money per capita on public aid as Indiana did. More than 8 percent of New York's population received benefits. New York spent almost twice as much as Indiana on Medicare and Medicaid.

Workers' compensation statistics tell a similar story. Between 1988 and 1993, New York's workers' comp levies went up 340 percent, an average of 23 percent a year. In my family's business of meat processing, the state insurance department's workers' compensation rate in 1993 was $25 per $100 of wages; states where many of our competitors are located had rates of less than $10 per $100 of wages.

One reason for our sky-high workers' comp costs is because New York has more than twice as many lawyers per capita as Indiana. New York is perhaps the most litigious state in the Union. Just one small indicator: Over the period 1990 to 1993, New York had more million-dollar trial verdicts (302) than any state except one—California, with 364. Of course, California has nearly twice our total population. The costs of often-dubious suits over alleged discrimination, worker accidents, and product liability are a great discouragement to doing business in New York.

Supporting all of New York's entitlements are taxes that leave New York businesses burdened more heavily than enterprises anywhere else in the continental United States. In 1992, our local and state government fees and taxes totaled just under $10,000 per employed person. In Indiana, the comparable figure amounted to about $5,300—roughly half as much.

As a businessman and Purdue/Cornell-trained economist, I know the law of comparative advantage cannot be escaped. If productive people and their capital can earn more and be harassed less in other states, they will move. That's why the number of Fortune 500 companies headquartered in New York has shrunk from 148 in 1969 to but 48 today, while small and medium-size businesses were flowing in the same direction.

Dependent people will follow a rule similar to businesses, except that they will move in the reverse direction: If they can receive more in New York, they'll migrate in.

A state that burdens the productive and rewards the dependent is at war with itself in the long run, for by discouraging business it erodes the tax base necessary to support generous benefits. Only a state that encourages the productive will have the means to assist the dependent. New York should do both groups a big favor by returning to the business-friendly policies that made the Empire State one of the most prosperous in America for much of American history.

—Mark W. Bitz
is president of Plainville Farms, an integrated food manufacturing business with 220 employees.

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NEW YORK'S OBESE WELFARE STATE

Many of the tax burdens Mark Bitz describes in the previous item were created to prop up New York's bloated social welfare edifice. Consider:

◦ Fully 1.6 million New Yorkers are on welfare, including one out of every seven persons living in New York City. There were just 400,000 recipients in 1960, and only 1.2 million as recently as 1989.

◦ Medicaid in New York paid out $5,500 in health benefits for every low-income man, woman, and child on the program in 1993—3.2 times as much as in California. A major reason: New York pays for things like in vitro fertilization for poor women (most of whom are unmarried and on welfare). In the small county (pop. 95,000) where one of your editors lives, the Department of Social Services recently revealed that it spends half a million dollars a year just to transport Medicaid patients to doctors' appointments (mostly via taxi), because the state demands that counties provide rides instead of leaving transportation arrangements to patients. Our local heroin addicts are given weekly taxi lifts to a methadone clinic in an adjoining county at a cost of $180 per trip—even though buses run the route for $15 roundtrip. That's $9,360 per addict per year in cab fares. (A local wag dubbed this the "debt and taxis" problem.)

◦ The median teacher salary in New York State is now $45,772. Public-school spending per pupil is over $10,000 a year (50 percent above the national average), and for this the state gets SAT scores 15 points below U.S. norms. (Back in 1973, New York students had SAT scores 25 points above the U.S. norm.)

◦ Prison perks in New York are some of the cushiest in the nation. Cell blocks get cable TV with premium channels like HBO. Taxpayer groups complain of lavish food service, microwave ovens, and refrigerators. The state pays unlimited free postage for prisoners ($1.5 million). Free college tuition is covered by $10 million in state grants (the federal government refuses to pay college costs of prisoners). New York also pays $600,000 a year to transport relatives to prisons for weekend visits. By law, every local jail and prison must have its own extensive law library (county D.A.s report that the prisoners' collections are often better than the ones in prosecutors' offices). The state also pays a cadre of lawyers to help inmates file suits against the state. It even pays about $10,000 annually for 70 "transsexual" male inmates to receive female hormones.

• New York has 240,000 state employees, including the largest legislative staff and the highest paid state lawmakers in the nation. State spending per capita is 47 percent higher than the national average, and the annual budget exceeds $65 billion. More than $67 billion in state debt is outstanding, and New York has the lowest credit rating of any state.

As a result, New York ranks number one nationally in tax burden. A net 1 million people, plus countless businesses, picked up and left New York during Mario Cuomo's 1982–1994 reign.

HEY, HEY, HO, HO AMERICAN HISTORY'S GOT TO GO

A new set of national standards for teaching history to school children has provoked scorching debate. Critics of the proposed standards, commissioned by the National Endowment for the Humanities, note failings like these:

• The standards mention George Washington only once and ignore his career as America's first president.

• They entirely omit Daniel Webster, Robert E. Lee, Paul Revere, Thomas Edison, Alexander Graham Bell, the Wright brothers, and Albert Einstein.

• They do, however, mention "McCarthyism" 19 times and call nineteenth-century immigrants "intrusive European migrants."

The American history section asks students to evaluate the role of women in the Ku Klux Klan, as well as to "conduct a trial of John D. Rockefeller on the following charge: the plaintiff had knowingly and willfully participated in unethical and amoral business practices designed to undermine the traditions of fair and open competition for personal and private aggrandizement in direct violation of the common welfare."

The world history standards ask students, "Among the Maya, Inca, and Aztec societies, which seemed the most positive and the most negative for women?"

In January, the Senate voted 99–1 to condemn the standards as "ideology masquerading as history." National standards should be developed by someone with "a decent respect for the contributions of Western civilization and the United States' history, ideas, and institutions," the Senate urged.

Left-wing historians are not backing down. Such prominent academics as Eric Foner, Mary Frances Berry, and Stanley Katz have exhorted activist colleagues to "repel these attacks."

A new organization of historians opposed to the growing radicalism of the profession is in the planning stage. Donald Avery, one of the organizers, says the new curriculum proposals demonstrate that far too many historians are possessed of an "anti-Western bias" and pursue an exaggerated "emphasis on race, gender, and ethnicity."

BLOCK THOSE GRANTS

In the rush to decentralize government decision making, many folks in Washington have seized on block grants to states as the quickest way to reduce federal responsibilities. But GOP strategist William Kristol recalls how poorly this strategy worked during the Reagan years: "block grants simply did not accomplish what they were intended to accomplish." John Cogan, who designed block grants as a Reagan budget official, concurs: "It was one year of cuts followed by eight years of spending growth." In Washington, what merely goes down—instead of going away—too easily goes back up.

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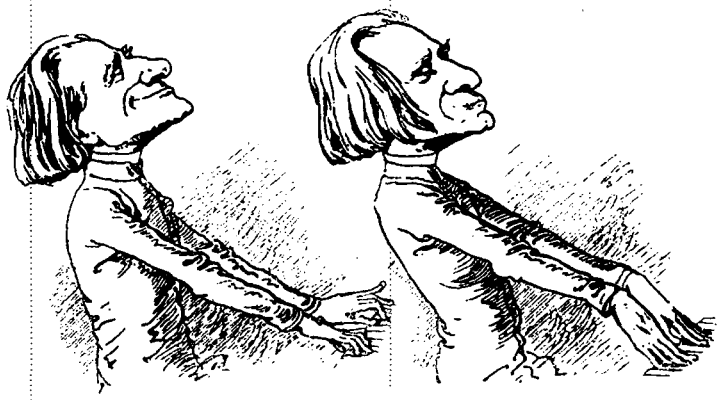
FREE CULTURE

Arguments for ending government subsidies to the corporation for Public Broadcasting, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the National Endowment for the Humanities (even former heads of the Endowments like Lynne Cheney and Bill Bennett are calling for abolition) have left arts subsidy-defenders all aswirl: barbarism will come crashing in without PBS, museums will close their doors, and on and on. But these assertions are simply false. At least three large corporations—already heavily involved in the part-public-part-private culture world—have offered to buy out part or all of the government culture apparatus. Public television already airs shows like Barney that make a fortune for their producers, even if PBS does a poor job of sharing in those profits. National Public Radio complains it doesn't have similar money-making shows to assist itself, but Garrison Keillor's radio shows have spawned numerous money-making ventures for him, and in any event, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which subsidizes NPR, receives only $300 million of its $1.3 billion operating budget from the taxpayers.

In a world where even five-year-olds have their own Walkmen, 98 percent of households have TVs, and 81 percent of homes have VCRs, the idea that somebody in Sticksville can't listen to Pavarotti sing or an Englishman speak is absurd. Supporters insist that although nearly every American has a television set, and most have cable, that doesn't mean quality programming is available anywhere but PBS. Yet as television critic Robert Goldberg reminds us, "The National Geographic specials have moved to NBC. *The Piano Lesson* and *The Return of the Native* [are airing] on CBS." The documentary, too, he points out, "is now in the middle of a great resurgence, from TBS and Arts & Entertainment to the Discovery and Learning Channels."

Lincoln said that "the legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do *at all*, or cannot *so well do*, for themselves." Does anyone whose salary doesn't depend on tax-payer money honestly think that the folks who can barely deliver the mail should deliver Beethoven? If the Republicans fail to end the culture subsidies, it will only prove once and for all that an elite establishment will never surrender its special privileges.



THE CULTURAL ELITE?

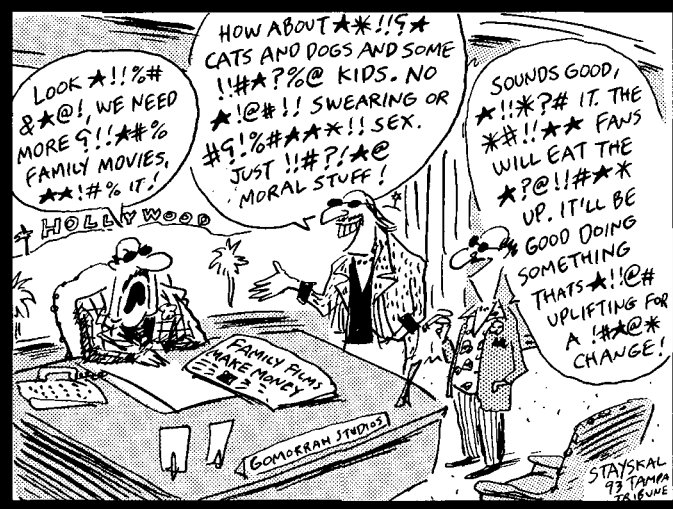
Hollywood observer Ben Stein tells of once daring to disagree on public policy with one of ABC News' "most mighty correspondents, a god among men": The man asked, "apparently to stump me, 'You have to understand human nature. Have you ever read any of the great Russian novelists?'

" 'Well, I read *The Brothers Karamazov*,' I answered.

" 'Yes, but have you read any Dostoevski?' he demanded."

L.A. LAWYERS

Did you see the *New York Times'* account of the final legal bill for Rodney King and his 23 lawyers, to be paid by the citizens of Los Angeles? The $4.4 million tab included thousands for interviews with Sam Donaldson, Phil Donahue, Larry King, and other glitterati; $1,625 for accompanying King to a show called, "Why Is L.A. Burning?"; as well as $1,300 for "client control" required by his original attorney and nearly $4,000 for lawyerly efforts to counter the bad publicity King suffered in connection with his arrest as he tried to run over a police officer while driving with a transvestite prostitute. The taxpayers' alleged obligation to pay such charges traces back to a string of Supreme Court decisions that mandate the provision of free counsel to defendants.



story on page 59

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No guts. No story. He came to us some 40 years ago. A man of boundless ergy. Filled with ideas about how a business magazine should be writt od reporting. Brevity. Originality. These were the essential ingredients e understood that writing is more than a matter of words. It's a er of character. The courage to be contrary. To take on the es. To bear up under the often oppressive weight of conve om. And for four decades now, he's done more than preach these fs. He's practiced them. And for this we owe him a lifetime of gratitude

Jim Michaels, editor of Forbes, recently received the Gerald Loeb Lifetime Achievement Award for Business and Financial Journalism.

Forbes

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By Karl Zinsmeister

Indicators

Revolt Against Government

The 1994 electoral revolt against big government was no unconsidered jerk of the knee. It was a rejection of centralized command and control that has been brewing deep within the American forebrain for a full generation.

Back in 1954, only 16 percent of Americans volunteered that the "biggest threat to the nation" was big government (Opinion Research Corporation). That proportion grew steadily through the 1960s, '70s, and '80s, survey research shows, until **fully two-thirds of all Americans picked big government as the country's gravest peril in a 1994 Roper Center poll.** And that number has probably not topped out, because each younger age group in this country is successively more troubled—with 70 percent of 20-year-olds and Baby Boomers fingering big government as the main enemy, compared to 63 percent of those who grew up in the Depression era. Hostility toward overgrown government is now a broad river, as the recent polling results reproduced below indicate.

A favorite line of argument against government shrinkage holds that if the American people actually got the non-interventionist state they say they want, they'd feel horrifyingly unprotected. But the public may be more grown-up than patronizing critics imagine. By more than 2:1, **Americans now say they favor a smaller government even if it offers fewer services** (details on page 101). The root of this conviction may have been uncovered by a 1994 survey done for the Hudson Institute which showed that Americans currently prefer the "opportunity to succeed" over "security from failure" by a 4-to-1 margin. Protective government has left Americans with strong feelings—of suffocation.

	Agree
The biggest threat to the U.S. in the future is big government:	67%
Government creates more problems than it solves:	69%
Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient:	66%
Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good:	63%
The federal government controls too much of our daily lives:	69%
The federal government should run ONLY those things that cannot be run at the local level:	78%
A smaller government would be more effective than a larger government:	79%

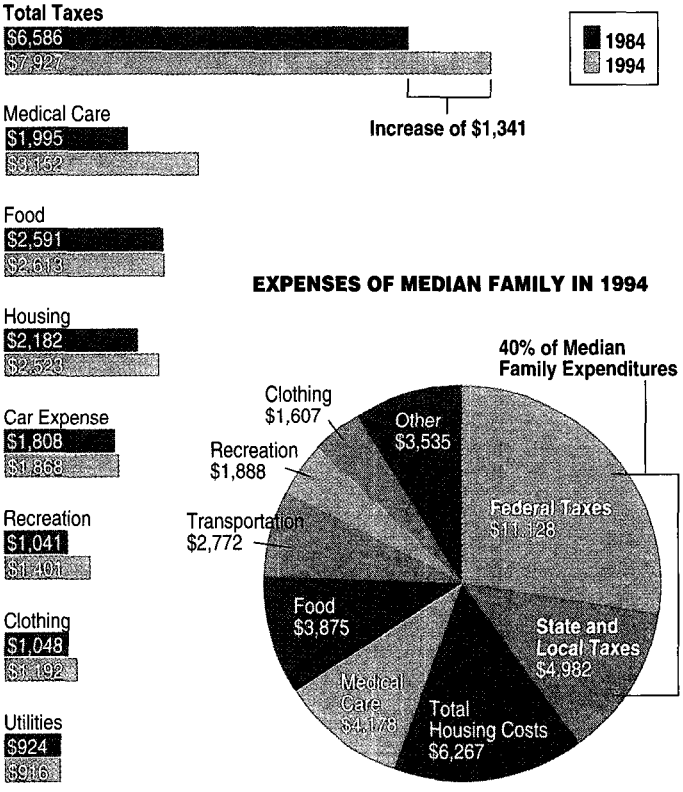
Sources: Roper Center for *Reader's Digest;* Luntz Research; Times Mirror Surveys. Years–1990-94

Taxes Now Dominate Family Spending

One reason we are seeing such cantankerous resentment of government among Americans is straightforward: **Government levies on individuals and families are large, onerous, and increasing rapidly. Taxes increased more over the last decade, by far, than any other personal expense**—more, in fact, than most other expenses *put together.* The per capita increase in taxes was even worse than the increase in medical expenses, which we all know were out of control. (Perhaps medical care and government really *were* made for each other as the Clinton health plan claimed.)

Tax collections now thoroughly dominate American family budgets. Since the large majority of taxes are taken out of earnings before families ever get their hands on the money, the tax bite can sometimes recede from view behind immediate daily expenses for things like food and housing. But taxes are a vastly bigger drag on income, eating fully 4 dollars out of every 10 brought in by the median family.

1984–1994 CHANGE IN MAJOR YEARLY EXPENSES OF AN AVERAGE AMERICAN (constant 1994 dollars)



Source: U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis. Data derive from personal consumption expenditures per capita.

EXPENSES OF MEDIAN FAMILY IN 1994

Source: U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis.

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How Leviathan Grew

When looking at the increase in government spending depicted at right, realize this: The spending curve is graphed *after* being adjusted for inflation and the increase in U.S. population. **The sharp rise you see depicted is real growth in the scale of government per individual citizen.**

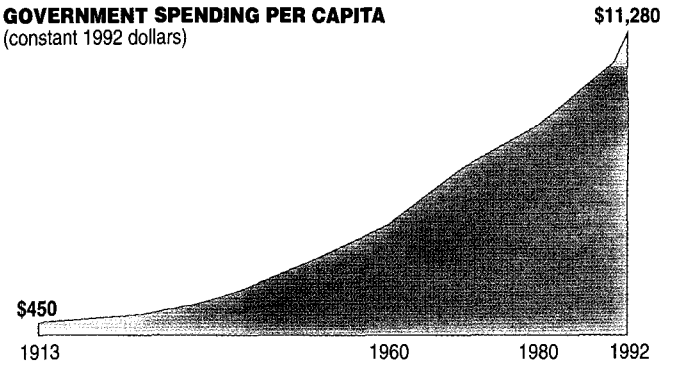
This data represents combined spending by all levels of government. For 1992, 53 percent of the total is by the feds. The rest is state and local government spending.

The middle graph on government employees may look deceiving because it covers a shorter time period than the spending graph, but the **jump from under 6 million persons on public payrolls in 1950 to about 19 million today** is of course extremely sharp. Sometime in the early '90s we passed an historical milestone—the number of Americans working for the government exceeded the total in manufacturing for the first time ever. Ten years from now, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics expects there will be close to 5 million more public employees in the United States than manufacturing workers.

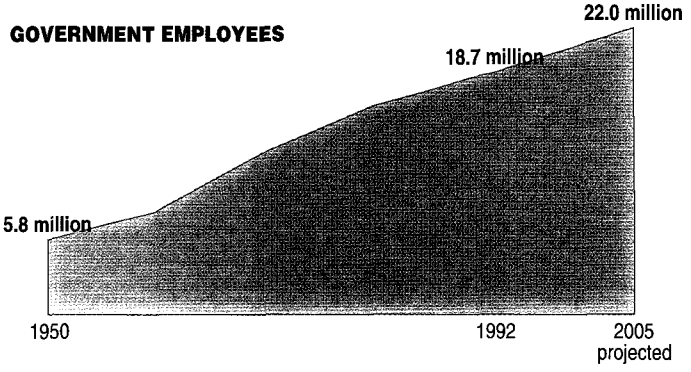
We all know about the government debt explosion depicted in the bottom graph. An aspect of exploding government costs that is a good deal *harder* to see—because it never appears on any public budget—is the cost to the private sector of complying with various laws and mandates. Some of this can be measured indirectly. Note below, for instance, the rise in pages in the *Federal Register* (Uncle Sam's rulebook), and the bloating of the tax code.

	1955	1994
Thousands of pages in the *Federal Register*	10.5	68.6
Millions of words in federal income tax regulations	.6	4.8

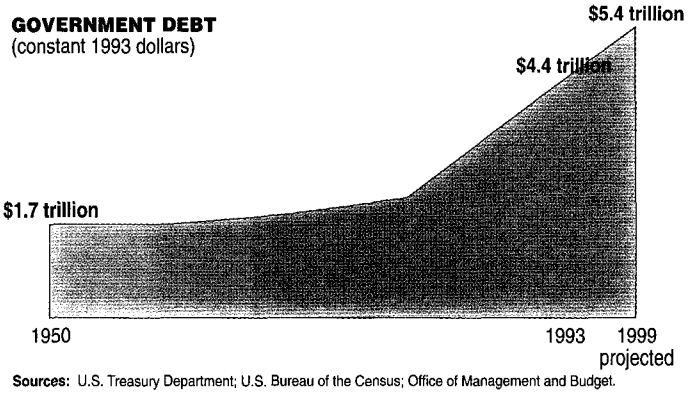
Private individuals and businesses now pay an estimated $150 billion a year just to satisfy government environmental rules. Rochester Institute of Technology researchers have estimated that **costs to the private sector of *all* federal regulations may amount to more than $500 billion a year.** Between the direct burden of taxes and the indirect burden of rules and regulations, researchers at Americans for Tax Reform now estimate that **average citizens must work until about July 19 each year to pay their annual total cost of government.**



Source: Editor's calculations from U.S. Bureau of the Census data.



Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.



Sources: U.S. Treasury Department; U.S. Bureau of the Census; Office of Management and Budget.

VIVE LA DIFFÉRENCE

You want contrasting indicators? How about this: **When President Clinton selected his Cabinet, he picked lawyers for 13 out of the 18 positions** ("lawyers are what make people free," explained Janet Reno). **When, in last November's election, American voters selected 73 new GOP freshmen to realign the House of Representatives, in nearly *half* of the 73 cases they picked a person who was running an enterprise**—ranging from an Indiana general store to medium-size corporations.

Add in the new Republicans who were working in business even if they weren't running their own show, plus the freshman Democrats, and altogether the new class of Congressmen includes 64 businesspeople and just 28 attorneys. As a result, **individuals with business, banking, or real estate backgrounds now outnumber lawyers in the House for the first time in many decades**—191 to 170. (Over in the Senate, the ratio is still a moldy 54 lawyers to 27 enterprisers.)

When federal bureaucrats testify before Congress in the future they'll be facing lots of folks with recent experience running small businesses, folks with their own expertise as to how federal laws, taxes, and regulations affect our economy and local communities. Here's betting the freshmen enterprisers do more to make Americans free than Bill Clinton's lawyers ever will.

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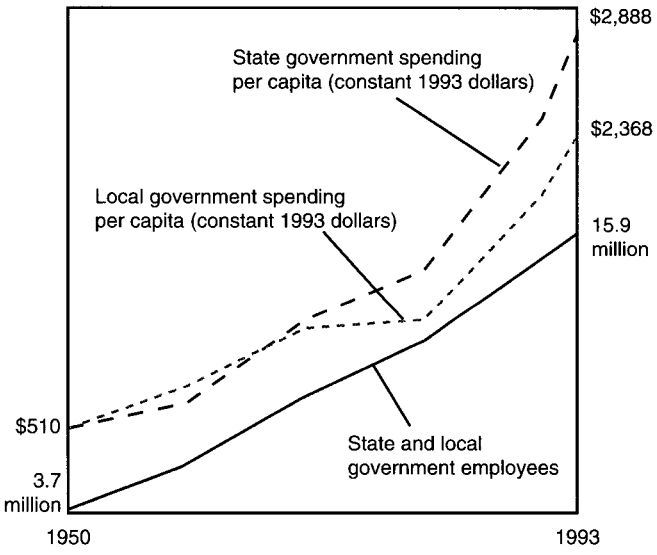
State and Local Governments Can Be Pretty Leviathan Too

Amidst the resentment now directed toward an overweening federal government, it sometimes gets overlooked that **state and local governments have also grown pretty overweening during the latest generation.** At any rate they've gotten a lot bigger. The state of California now collects and redistributes more than $100 billion a year. *Ohio's* budget is in the thirties of billions of dollars. States and local authorities tend to spend and regulate for somewhat different purposes than the feds, of course, and their heavier emphasis on homely, practical tasks like road maintenance and schooling makes them less controversial. But our home turf bureaucrats become more intrusive with each passing year—as anyone who's tried to change their local school or get a building permit recently knows. And **in terms of tax bite, the state-and-local dog has bulked up so rapidly it's now almost exactly the same size as the federal rottweiler.**

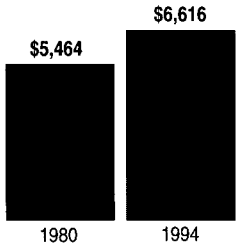
With state and local governments bloating even faster than the federal monolith, could a public backlash comparable to today's anti-Washington sentiment be far behind?

EXPANSION OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

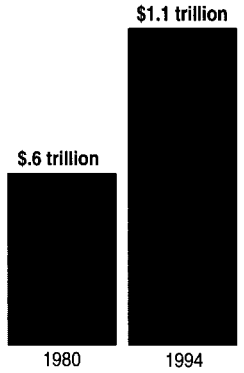


Sources: U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis; U.S. Bureau of the Census; Tax Foundation.

STATE AND LOCAL TAXES ON A MEDIAN TWO-EARNER FAMILY
(constant 1994 dollars)



STATE AND LOCAL DEBT OUTSTANDING
(constant 1994 dollars)



Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census; Tax Foundation; Editor's calculations.

SNIPS

✂ FEELING LUCKY?—**The odds of a "civilization-threatening" collision between Earth and an asteroid within the next 100 years are approximately 1-in-1,000, Carl Sagan estimates. "You would not go on a commercial airliner if the chance of it failing were one in 1,000," he notes.**

✂ THANK YOU—**The U.S. Treasury Department recently calculated that worldwide tariff reductions from the new global trade agreement will amount to the equivalent of a worldwide $744 billion tax cut.**

✂ THE RED MEAT CONGRESS—**On the first day of the new GOP Congress, meat toppings outsold vegetable ones 8:1 at Washington, D.C. outlets of Domino's Pizza, twice the rate when the Democrats ran Capitol Hill.**

✂ GO EAST YOUNG MAN—**Net migration out of California totaled 426,000 people in 1994.**

✂ POOR CONNECTION—**While Washington, D.C. leads the country in many measures of childhood problems (infant mortality, shootings, teen pregnancy), there is no shortage of helping programs for children—620, public and private, according to the Mayor's Youth Initiatives Office.**

✂ SPRING FEIGNING—**By 43 to 27 percent, Americans favor the owners' side in the baseball strike—perhaps because the annual salary of an average major leaguer was already $1.2 million when the strike began.**

✂ DO AS I SAY, NOT AS I DO—**Percentage of staff members at *Parents* magazine who are not parents: 46.**

✂ GROWTH INDUSTRY—**A recent letter to the *Wall Street Journal* by a Yale instructor revealed that 53 different employees are now needed to oversee the university's system of affirmative action preferences and quotas. Among other havens, Yale now supports a separate Puerto Rican social center.**

Pop Quiz

1. **Percentage of all Americans classified by the U.S. Census Bureau as having a disability:**
   a) 2% b) 10% c) 20%

2. **Number of times inflation has increased prices in Brazil since 1960:**
   a) 200 b) 2 million c) 22 billion

3. **Average amount of time it takes to get FDA approval after development of a new drug:**
   a) 14 months b) 4 years c) 14 years *(Answers on page 19)*

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Do Small-Government Advocates Practice Compassion?

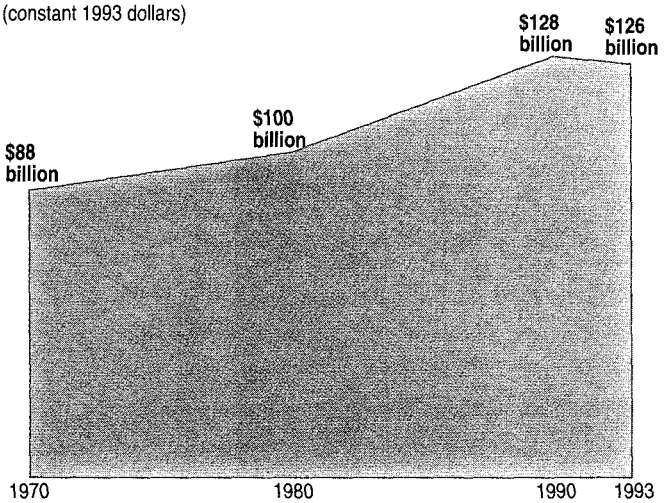
Political commentator Morton Kondracke recently wrote a nationally syndicated column in which he wondered aloud whether most of the conservative advocates of more private charity and less government welfare were perhaps hypocrites who talked a lot about person-to-person aid without practicing much in their own lives. As it happens, we have good data on this question, and the numbers show clearly that **the groups most generous with their time and money today are precisely the core constituencies of the small-government ideal.**

Who are the prototypical government-trimming Republicans? According to survey research, they are married, employed, college-educated, church-going white parents of small children. And data from Independent Sector and the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics show it is precisely Americans with those characteristics who give most freely to others from their own time and money. Compared to individuals with profiles more typical of liberal Democrats (e.g., unmarried people, blacks, persons without college education, the unemployed, Northeasterners), the numbers show state-shrinking conservative types are twice as likely to volunteer time for the carrying out of good works. They also give twice as big a proportion of their annual incomes to charity. One of the few studies ever to inquire directly about party affiliation and voluntarism was limited to persons age 60 and over. Among this group, the 1991 survey found, 45 percent of Republicans had performed volunteer service within the past year, compared to 37 percent of Democrats.

The folks who are most giving of all, incidently, are religious conservatives—the key population in the GOP's November electoral sweep. Independent Sector statistics from 1994 show that among people who attend church weekly, 64 percent are volunteers of some sort, to the tune of 2.9 hours a week on average, while the proportion of household income donated to others averages 3.0 percent. (Among those who never attend church, meanwhile, 34 percent volunteer, giving an average of 1.1 hours a week, and 0.9 percent of total household income goes to charity.)

Skeptics point out that both volunteering and charitable giving have fallen over the past few years. Few note, however, that American generosity with time and money peaked during the supposedly "greedy" GOP era. Liberal sophisticates snickered over the thousand points of light and Ronald Reagan's insistent celebrations of private sector charitable "heroes." But even as the guffaws echoed, philanthropic giving rose much more sharply during the 1980s than during decades before or after.

PRIVATE CHARITABLE DONATIONS
(constant 1993 dollars)



Source: American Association of Fund-Raising Cousel, Inc.

SKILLS POSSESSED BY LEGALLY ADMITTED IMMIGRANTS

Recent immigrants to the United States are variously characterized as blessings or burdens to the nation. Among the 1.2 million individuals legally admitted in 1993, two things are clear: 1) Lots of them are highly skilled. 2) Lots of them are not. As talented as many of our new arrivals are, it's clear that under more meritocratic selection criteria an even more productive group could be admitted. This is the justification for immigration reforms like those proposed by Barry Chiswick on pages 46–50.

Occupation	Percent of 1993 immigrant class
Homemaker	18
Professional or executive	18
Unemployed or retired	16
Student	16
Laborer, fabricator, operator	10
Service worker	9
Sales or clerical worker	6
Skilled craft worker	4
Farmer, fisher, forester	2

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service

ETHNIC RESPONSES TO IMMIGRATION

Four professors recently surveyed Southern Californians in four ethnic groups on some of their feelings about immigration. The results show there is broad support for stricter efforts to reduce illegal immigration, and also considerable support for reducing entitlements to both illegal and legal aliens.

Immigration control	Whites	Blacks	Asians	Hispanics
Spend more to deport illegal aliens	73%	67%	62%	37%
Spend more for border control	83	84	81	50
Favor national ID card to control illegals	58	64	60	66
No work permits for illegal aliens	80	74	70	25
Entitlements				
Delay social services to legal immigrants	58%	64%	39%	39%
Illegals' children should not be U.S. citizens	51	44	50	9

Source: "What Ordinary Americans Think About Multiculturalism," David Sears et al., paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1, 1994.

Pop Quiz answers: 1.) c 2.) c 3.) c

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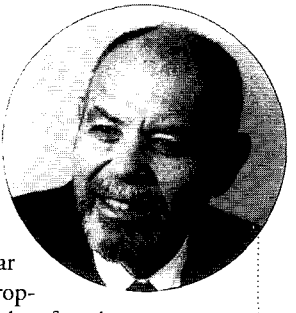
two views

Should Citizens, Legal Immigrants, and Illegal Aliens Receive Different Benefits?

Cecilia Muñoz and Paul Gottfried Have Two Views



A national consensus has evolved around the notion that the nation must, at long last, find effective ways to control undocumented immigration. This sentiment is expressed, even by immigration restrictionists like California Gov. Pete Wilson, in terms of closing the "back door" to undocumented immigrants so that the nation can keep the "front door" open to those who seek to enter legally.

But the longer the debate rages, the more clear it becomes that this relatively clear-cut goal is muddled by extraordinary levels of misinformation. Take, for example, the recent *USA Today* poll, which shows 63 percent of non-Californians agreeing that aid to undocumented immigrants should be eliminated. I suspect many of those poll respondents would be surprised to learn that, under current law, undocumented immigrants are already barred from receiving most public benefits. In fact, the law requires administrators of the major programs like AFDC to use a government citizenship database to check for fraudulent applications from undocumented immigrants. (It costs more to run the database than any actual savings that result—such is the price of security.) Despite the widespread perception that national policy does not distinguish between undocumented aliens and everyone else, in fact the law has long denied the undocumented not only eligibility for most benefits, but also authorization to work in the United States.

The only chinks in the wall separating the nation's estimated 4 million undocumented residents from the rest of the country were carved by rather sacred hands. A decision by the Supreme Court in 1982, based in part on the Constitution's equal protection doctrine, provided that the nation would be ill-served by barring undocumented children from school, thereby punishing them for the sins of their parents. Our common sense of morality and de-

> The nation may have an interest in separating the undocumented from the rest of us; but we must stop when drawing that line means undoing the Constitution, or the values that make us great.

The current hierarchy of advantages leading up to acquisition of full American citizenship is wholly defensible, and indeed the distinctions between various statuses of residency in this country may need to be made clearer. Citizens should receive the most privileges; illegal residents, by contrast, should be given none at all.

This view has become controversial. Immigrant advocacy groups and the media object to what they see as invidious distinctions being drawn between American citizens and other residents. The protest against these distinctions found expression last fall in demonstrations by opponents of California's Proposition 187. Californians who wished to stop the flow of public benefits to illegal residents—financed mostly by Californians—were condemned as xenophobic, mean-spirited, and against "human rights."

It is unfair to force citizens of any country or state to provide public benefits to those who have no legal right to be there. The mass of illegal aliens in California, Texas, and Florida now numbers in the millions; it dramatizes the need not for bigger social budgets but for effective border control. Former Supreme Court Justice William Brennan and other imaginative judges have claimed that the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protections apply to illegal residents. This is an exercise in hallucination. The Fourteenth Amendment explicitly protects "citizens of the United States," and in particular their "property." It therefore does not authorize that citizens be deprived of their earnings to pay for those who enter the country without legal rights.

We belittle the honesty of those who immigrate legally, sometimes after years of waiting, when we blur the distinction between them and illegal aliens. Why should both groups draw some of the same benefits, even though one group comes legally and pays income taxes while the other does neither? Such an injustice sends the wrong message to both groups, and so it is not surprising that many naturalized immigrants support stricter controls on illegal entry.

An apparently more difficult problem is justifying the disparate rights and benefits awarded to citizens and resident aliens. Why do we distinguish at all between those who come legally, accept our financial burdens, and often intend to become American citizens, and those who happen to be born in this country? Why do resident aliens have fewer rights and benefits than those who are Americans by birth or naturalization?

There are several answers to these questions, all of which seem valid. First, American citizens, even those who are such merely by accident of birth, are subject to greater obligations by virtue of their citizenship than resident aliens. In time of war or national crisis, citizens, unlike resident aliens, can be re-

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Muñoz continued

cency have prevented us, at least for now, from denying the most basic services, like emergency food and shelter, to undocumented immigrants in need. We are, on occasion, tempted to undermine our basic national values in our quest to rid ourselves of the less than 2 percent of the population that is undocumented, but we do ourselves a great injustice in the process.

For example, some zealots in California have begun to ask native-born Americans for their papers at the supermarket and the hamburger stand, simply because they look like they might be Mexican. The nation may have an interest in separating the undocumented from the rest of us; but we must stop when drawing that line means undoing the Constitution, or the values that make us great.

The confusion between illegal and legal migration has resulted in calls to further divide U.S. citizens from immigrants whom we have welcomed into our country. Such calls, manifested most strongly in a legislative proposal to bar non-U.S. citizens from some 60 federally funded programs, do violence to the nation's cherished traditions as expressed through our policy of reuniting families and revitalizing ourselves with the energy of immigrants who choose to join their futures with ours.

The nation's immigration policy is based on the notion that once we accept you into the United States, you become one of us. You are expected to learn English, to pay taxes, to fight in time of war, and to support yourself without reliance on publicly funded programs. The good news is that immigrants do all of these things. Their economic and social contributions are well documented, from high workforce participation to strong family values and eagerness to learn English and teach it to their children. Not only do immigrants contribute youth, vigor, and energy to the labor market, even when they fall on hard times they use public benefits less than the native population.

Immigrants' desire to naturalize is going up, if the number of applications filed with the Immigration Service is any measure. This process, which requires 5 years of legal residence in the United States and demonstrated proficiency in English and civics, is looked upon with a great deal of reverence by newcomers. It is a sacred and meaningful step, one which confers the right and the duty to vote, the ability to reunite with family members, to hold jobs reserved for citizens, and the obligation to relinquish ties—always emotional and often material—with one's former home. To those who believe that becoming a U.S. citizen is too small a step, I invite you to attend a swearing-in ceremony or to talk to someone who has taken the oath. Americans by choice are surely among the proudest of Americans.

Proposals that seek to widen the divide between U.S. citizens and legal residents are doing more than simply telling hard-working taxpayers that their contributions will not be there to aid them if they fall on hard times. At best, they create unnecessary dissonance at a time when the country badly needs harmony. At worst, they cynically capitalize on concern about undocumented immigrants and deliberately blur an important line between them and their legal immigrant counterparts. Either way, they do grave harm to the many contributions that immigrants make to this country, and to the welcoming spirit that has done so much to make the United States what it is.

Cecilia Muñoz is deputy vice-president of the National Council of La Raza, an umbrella organization for over 170 community organizations serving Hispanics.

Gottfried continued

quired to risk their lives. Second, most American citizens are not simply citizens by accident. They live in their country, speak its language, and are familiar with its laws and customs. By and large, citizens are more acculturated than resident aliens, who typically have strong ties with their native land. Though there is nothing wrong with that, it does justify the perception that citizens have integrated themselves more fully into American life than noncitizens.

Third, as disagreements erupt over the distribution of publicly financed benefits of all sorts, noncitizens will in any case be affected. Fights over such benefits have occurred in France, Germany, and Italy as the costs of maintaining a welfare net have risen. The struggle over social benefits has triggered angry outbursts against "foreigners," who in some cases happen to belong to the same nation, such as East Germans in Munich or Sicilians in Milan. In the United States, welfare and social benefits are also under reconsideration as American voters rebel against expensive, intrusive government. In all likelihood, resident aliens will lose some public aid in the coming months, and they should take their lumps gracefully. American citizens have been remarkably generous to them by the standards of any other country, and they will still be allowed, no matter what, to attend our universities, practice commerce, exercise their religion, and express their views (the last two within reasonable limits).

Fourth, the right to differentiate between citizens and noncitizens is essential to self-government. Once such a right is disallowed, what remains is not a political community but a subject people. When judges and public administrators on their own authority invoke "human rights" to break down the

IT IS UNFAIR TO FORCE CITIZENS OF ANY COUNTRY OR STATE TO PROVIDE PUBLIC BENEFITS TO THOSE WHO HAVE NO LEGAL RIGHT TO BE THERE.

customary distinctions between citizens and noncitizens, it bodes ill. If unchallenged, this form of super-legality will deprive Americans of the power to define what it means to be an American. It will not be possible to keep noncitizens from enjoying constitutional protections that were clearly intended only for American citizens. In a timely study, *Citizenship Without Consent,* Rogers M. Smith and Peter H. Schuck stress the pivotal right to restrict citizenship in a self-governing society. Being a citizen of a democracy necessarily entails the right to decide who can or cannot assume an equal status. Citizens must be able to exclude as well as to accept additional members. Otherwise, it is not they but those who seize that power who become the rulers. This is the situation that prevailed in imperial Rome, as opposed to the Roman Republic.

As we now try to reform our straying republic, it may be useful to ponder this argument.

Paul Gottfried is writing a study of populism in a postliberal age. His most recent books are Carl Schmitt: Politics and Theory *and* The American Conservative Movement.

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"Live" with TAE

VIRGINIA'S EXUBERANT GOVERNOR GEORGE ALLEN AIMS TO CUT DOWN GOVERNMENT IN RICHMOND—AND IN WASHINGTON, TOO.

George Allen

One legislative critic has dubbed Virginia Governor George Allen "Baby Newt," for the boyish governor seeks a radical overhaul of the government of his Commonwealth. He is engaged in a contentious fight with the General Assembly over his proposals for an income-tax cut, spending reductions, and a massive new program of prison construction.

Allen, who comes off as eager, garrulous, and friendly, is the son of legendary Washington Redskins coach George Allen, the man who took his "over-the-hill gang" to the Super Bowl in 1973. While still very much on this side of the hill, young George served in the Virginia legislature and the U.S. House of Representatives before his election as governor in 1993.

On the walls of his Richmond office, portraits of Virginians Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry contend with a boar's head and a stuffed baby armadillo. Over the mantle rests a picture of the Battle of New Market, where a group of adolescent cadets from the Virginia Military Institute won a stunning victory.

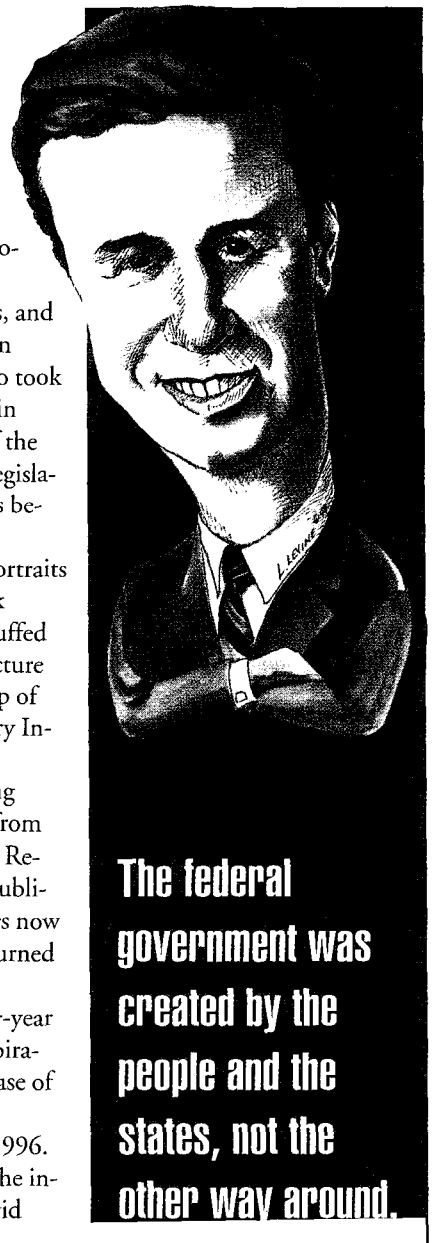
Allen is a leader of the movement among American governors to reclaim lost rights from Washington. He drafted the Williamsburg Resolve of November 1994 in which the Republican governors demanded that many powers now exercised by the federal government be returned to the states.

Virginia limits its governors to one four-year term. If Governor Allen succeeds in his aspiration to make Virginia a Republican showcase of streamlined government, his name may be bruited about on the national level come 1996.

Senior Editor Scott Walter conducted the interview with the assistance of reporter David Bovenizer.

TAE: Why do you call yourself a Jeffersonian conservative?

GOV. ALLEN: Jefferson was a revolutionary. He hated a centralized government. In his 1801 inaugural address, he described good government as a wise and frugal one that shall restrain men from injuring one another, but otherwise leave them free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement. He said government should not take from the mouths of labor the bread it has earned. Those are the guiding principles of my administration as well.



On the restraint from injury side, we've abolished the lenient, deceitful parole system we had in Virginia, where violent criminals were being released after serving a quarter of their sentences. And now we have among the toughest penalties for violent offenders in the nation. If a jury gives a rapist 12 years, he's going to serve 12 years, not three. What we've done with truth in sentencing and abolition of parole is stated that folks are going to be held accountable for their acts.

As far as the freedom to regulate one's own pursuits of industry, we have been trying to curtail the regulatory burden. We have economic impact statements before any new regulations go into effect. And of course we're reducing the tax burden.

TAE: What do you think the constitutional relationship should be between the state and national governments? What areas do you think the Constitution reserves for the states?

GOV. ALLEN: The federal government was created by the people and the states, not the other way around, and its responsibilities are those that were delegated: interstate commerce, national defense, foreign policy, printing a common currency, delivering the mail.

Other than that, unless there's something that has national implications, I think it should be left to the wisdom and desires of the people in each state. State governments are much closer to the people and obviously more responsive.

The federal government has very defined and limited powers. In accordance with the Tenth Amendment, those powers not specifically delegated to the federal government are reserved to the people and the states. It's part of the Bill of Rights, but unfortunately federal judges and a

Illustration by Lucinda S. Levine

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do-gooder Congress and the Executive Branch have over the last several decades, I think, ignored it. The Tenth Amendment wasn't repealed at Appomattox; it's still there, in the Constitution.

We were already fighting the federal government over EPA micromanagement when I read the talk that AEI's Russell Hittinger gave on the Tenth Amendment at Willie Pie's Day in Crozier, Virginia. Then I thought, Well, look at this, we have a shot at being more than just minions for federal enforcement of tailpipe inspections.

I think he's right on point. We, as states, need to band together. Let's say Michigan's being pestered by the federal government: the issue may not have any real application to us in Virginia. I think we still should try to support Michigan. Michigan ought to be able to determine how they want to operate their schools, for example.

Governor Wilson and California's concerns are more with illegal aliens. We should stand with them in a fight, if called upon, because the next time the federal government comes down on us, we certainly would like to have help from other states.

TAE: That brings up the Williamsburg Resolve. Could you tell our readers a bit about that?

GOV. ALLEN: I didn't want the November Republican Governors Association meeting in Williamsburg simply to be the usual review of campaign ads and polling data. I wanted to make it a foundation for something more. So I drafted the Williamsburg Resolve and sent it out to the various governors. We delineated what the problem was with the centralization of power, how the federal government was usurping the rights and the prerogatives of the people of our states. How our freedom was being taken away by unelected federal judges and bureaucrats, and Congress. And how the United States did not secede from a monarchy simply to reinstitute a monarchy on the north banks of the Potomac.

And so we listed the grievances, as was done by the Founders in the Declaration of Independence, and also went forward with ideas as to how they could be remedied; for example, with unfunded mandates legislation. But it's about more than just their forcing us to do something without paying for it. What they are doing is sapping our initiative and our self-determination.

Other solutions that need to be considered include allowing the states to initiate amendments to the Constitution rather than having a constitutional convention.

I'm also very much in favor of allowing three-quarters of the states to act in concert to repeal or void a federal law or regulation. Congress would then have the opportunity, on a two-thirds vote, to override the will of those three-quarters of the states.

The federal government needs to get smaller. I think the state government needs to get smaller and focus on its core responsibilities. Local governments will finally get the message as well.

Those are the sort of structural changes that I think could establish the framework for understanding and reinstilling the views of our Founders.

TAE: Let me give you two examples of disputes that involve federalism, and that are also of some importance in Virginia: the federal government suing VMI to admit women and federal efforts at gun control.

GOV. ALLEN: The federal government, with nothing better to do, wants to pester VMI. But for well over 150 years it has produced outstanding citizens. It is doing a perfectly good job. There's no reason to change it.

Now, I think that women who want that sort of an experience and educational opportunity should be provided with it. But if VMI admitted women, it wouldn't be the VMI that we've known for 154 years. You just don't treat women the way you treat fellow cadets. If you did, it would be ungentlemanly, it'd be improper.

So what we have done is work to establish the Women's Institute of Leadership at a private women's college. The women who go through that course will have the same opportunities as males will, and to me, it's a perfect solution.

The federal government, though, wants to come in and tell us how to run our schools. If the federal government prevails in its efforts to ruin VMI for whatever social cause, what's also at stake are our tuition assistance grants that we provide to Virginia students who go to Virginia private colleges.

We have all-male and all-female, as well as coed private colleges. So if the notion of the federal Justice Department is that you cannot have state aid to single-sex institutions, then you can't give it for Sweet Briar, or Mary Baldwin, or Hampden-Sydney.

So there's a lot more at stake than just VMI. It's the right of we, the people of Virginia, to have our own higher education system as we see fit, providing everyone with an opportunity to get an education in this diverse system.

TAE: Some states are refusing to enforce the Brady Bill.

GOV. ALLEN: Well, it didn't apply to Virginia because we already have a gun-check system. Imagine that—the states thought of something good before the federal government. It's just an unheard-of notion for those meddlers in Washington.

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What we have is an instant criminal records check in Virginia for anyone who purchases any firearm. It's a fast, fair, and effective way of doing it. It doesn't deny the right of any law-abiding citizen to purchase a firearm, and I think everyone would agree that felons should not be possessing, much less purchasing, a firearm.

And so we don't have a waiting period in Virginia. We don't need a waiting period. And I would oppose one. I opposed it as a legislator, and there's no evidence that it does any good anyway, besides infringing upon the rights of law-abiding citizens to purchase a firearm to protect themselves, their family, or their property.

I think the Brady Bill is a gimmick. You can hang the gun, you can incarcerate the gun; that's not going to stop the crime. You've got to incarcerate the person who committed the crime.

TAE: You seem to think the government is in thrall to a false ideology. How should citizens respond?

GOV. ALLEN: I think our reaction has to be effectively espoused. We have to motivate people. In the last election we saw the disgust of the people who were for Perot. They felt like the government wasn't paying any attention to them, that it was too big, it was out of touch, and they couldn't do anything about it.

But that's what was good about Perot's campaign. It was an outlet for that frustration. And those objecting weren't necessarily right or left or center. They were just folks who were aggravated, and they had a genuine spirit in that campaign. It wasn't just to preserve power for a party. It was: We want something better; we want accountability in government.

We need accountability also in people, and people see a decline in individual responsibility. You see that in the criminal justice system, where folks commit a crime and they blame it on their teachers, their parents, the neighborhood, the trauma: you know, breast-feeding versus bottle-feeding. They come up with every excuse. There is an objective difference between right and wrong, and people who do wrong need to be held accountable.

We see it also in our welfare system, where people feel that it's their right; others are supposed to take care of them. And if someone has succeeded, then they're supposed to be torn down, and you take from that person whatever they have earned legitimately and honestly through their own ingenuity and toil.

It wasn't that long ago I was in high school. If you were fooling around and a girl got pregnant, the solution wasn't just to haul off and have an abortion, or go ahead and have the kid and the taxpayers will pay for it. You were going to get married, and you would have to get a job. And while that did not deter all bad behavior, it certainly made people feel a whole lot more responsible for their actions. In so many areas the concept of individuals being in control of their own destiny, by their own free will, and being held accountable for their actions is lost.

The way the big government knows best folks determine whether you care about something is how much government money you put into it. If you don't give it more money, then that means you don't care, you're not compassionate.

I think that in Washington, now, within the leadership—Dick Armey and Newt Gingrich and those folks—there is that understanding that the federal government needs to get smaller.

I obviously think the state government needs to get smaller, and focus on its core responsibilities. Local governments will finally get the message as well.

But I think the new people understand that, I really do, and that's what's so refreshing about the change in Washington. It's not just us railing against the monarchical elitists on the Potomac. Now we are the majority, and I think people are willing to take on that responsibility.

I think it just comes down to whether you trust people or you don't. I trust people. They know better than any government official or bureaucrat or special vested interest what to do with their money. The other side obviously doesn't trust people. They don't trust the free market system to determine winners and losers.

TAE: You've appointed a Tenth Amendment commission.

GOV. ALLEN: Right.

TAE: Walter Williams, one of the people on the commission, has written a number of times about the question of secession and seems to take it seriously.

GOV. ALLEN: Don't get me into that! [Laughter.] See, Walter can say those things. If I said that, with the Clinton administration, they'd probably get me for treason and come down here and arrest me. So I don't think that we need to get to the point of secession. I don't think we need to be seizing the arsenals.

TAE: Your dad coached the Washington Redskins in their glory years. What did you learn about the city of Washington during his tenure?

GOV. ALLEN: The Redskins really did unify the city. I'll always remember December 31, 1972. They'd just beaten Dallas, and the whole city was just—everyone was honking horns, dancing in the streets, hugging, cheering, carrying on, and it was really great. Something positive to focus on after the riot years.

I think that the players that my father brought in helped a great deal. They were players

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who other teams thought were washed up. You know, they called them the "over the hill gang": Ron McDole, Billy Kilmer, Diron Talbert, mixed in with the likes of Sonny Jurgensen and Larry Brown and Roy Jefferson.

But what was great about that team is they had so much character. They didn't have the talent of other teams, but they had character. And every play was the last play, every game was the last, every season—this is our last hurrah.

TAE: You were a stern fiscal conservative in the General Assembly and in the U.S. House of Representatives, but you didn't have anything like the high profile you've managed to create for yourself this year. What turned you into such a firebrand?

GOV. ALLEN: Well, I always was fighting for what I believed in when I was in the legislature. I was supporting workfare, for instance, requiring able-bodied people on welfare to work in exchange for their benefits. They would kill it, year after year. Nevertheless, now, as governor, we can push it through.

I've worked, year after year, for something called bifurcated jury trials. In Virginia, juries don't just determine guilt and innocence, they also sentence criminals. And so this would allow jurors, after determining guilt but prior to sentencing a criminal, to know what his prior record was. So they'd know if he's a three-time loser or first-time offender. Well, that proposal was killed year after year. I got it through last year. As governor, you have a great deal more power and influence than you do as one of one hundred members in the House of Delegates.

When I was in Congress—Mark Twain said it's the only criminal class in America—I worked for a balanced-budget amendment that had a line-item veto and required a supermajority for tax increases. It didn't pass, but I've always fought for those things. As governor, I just succeed more. Of course, with Newt Gingrich, Dick Armey, and Tom DeLay and all those folks running things now, Congress may also begin to get some things done.

I learned something in Congress: you have to mass your troops. While we have a Republican minority in the Virginia House and Senate, if you can keep them together and pick up a few Democrats, you can get things done.

TAE: What are the books and the men that have shaped your philosophy?

GOV. ALLEN: I don't care for fiction. I like to read about what happened—history. I like Patrick Henry's fire and determination. Jefferson was thoughtful. Just for pleasurable reading, Mark Twain's by far my favorite. I thoroughly enjoy reading Mark Twain; just about anything. *Roughing It* is great. His description of a woman slapping mosquitoes—it just brought back memories of when I was out West.

I trust people. They know better than any government official or bureaucrat or special vested interest what to do with their money. The other side obviously doesn't trust people. They don't trust the free market system to determine winners and losers.

People who have had an influence as far as heroes: historically, Jefferson and Patrick Henry and George Washington. As far as modern heroes, Teddy Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan.

But the people who have had influence on my life personally were, first and foremost, my father, who said never become discouraged, always fight, be focused, discipline yourself. Judge Williams is still alive, he's a federal judge from Southwest Virginia I worked for. Probably another influence was the cow boss that I buckarooed for on a ranch near Winnemucca, Nevada. That was good: you just made your own rules, made your own laws there, you could do anything you wanted to do, really, and easily get away with it because there were no witnesses.

But still, working on that ranch with him, and that philosophy of independence—it's hard to describe.

TAE: Judith Mason of the Virginia Council Against Poverty says your income tax reform "is an attempt to disavow government as a caring partner."

GOV. ALLEN: Typical, typical, typical. See, that's the way that the liberals, the big-government-knows-best folks, look at it. The way they determine whether you care about something is how much government money you put into it. If you don't give it more money, then that means you don't care, you're not compassionate.

I don't agree. I don't think it is at all compassionate to be doing for someone something that he is perfectly capable of doing for himself. Able-bodied people who are on welfare ought to work in exchange for their benefits.

Welfare should not be a permanent condition. I think it should be limited to two years. I don't know Ms. Mason, but she symbolizes many who are part of the bureaucracy. They look at welfare recipients as clients: "Gosh, what happens if they actually get a job and become self-sufficient and independent?" This threatens them.

And so the more those folks complain, the more I know I'm right in what we're trying to do. I'm looking out for the taxpayers—that's number one. I'm also looking out for the recipients, because this system hasn't served them well at all.

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POWER to the PEOPLE

States and Local Communities Battle the Feds for the Ball

by Russell Hittinger

In his first speech as majority leader, Senator Robert Dole read his colleagues the 10th Amendment to the Constitution and declared, "If I have one goal for the 104th Congress, it is this: that we will dust off the 10th Amendment and restore it to its rightful place." Dole then explained that he would read the 10th Amendment in the Senate each week to remind his colleagues of its importance, and of "how far we have strayed."

Illustration by James Bennett

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The purpose of the 10th Amendment is to mark off as clearly as possible the constitutional limits to our national government's power to invade our individual and local affairs.

Bob Dole is right to call for a restoration of the 10th Amendment, for it is the key both to understanding the Constitution and to limiting the national government to its appropriate role in American society. The 10th Amendment states simply: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." This provision has the same function as the rest of the Bill of Rights—to mark off as clearly as possible the constitutional limits to our national government's power to invade our individual and local affairs. The U.S. government is not merely limited by legal rules, customs, common law, and the separation of powers into three branches. The federal government is also limited—by means of "a system hitherto unknown," as James Wilson put it at the time—by *other governments*. This is the principle of divided sovereignty. Tocqueville admired James Madison's summary of this principle in *Federalist* 45:

> The powers delegated by the proposed Constitution to the federal government are few and defined. Those which are to remain in the state governments are numerous and indefinable. The former will be exercised principally on external objects, as war, peace, negotiation, and foreign commerce, with which...the power of taxation will, for the most part, be connected. The powers reserved for the several states will extend to all the objects which, in the ordinary course of affairs, concern the lives, liberties, and properties of the people, and the internal order, improvement, and prosperity of the state.

The nation's new class of insurgent Republican governors recently met in Williamsburg, Virginia, and, invoking the 10th Amendment, passed the Williamsburg Resolve. This declaration makes it quite clear that the new state executives intend to reassert the proper powers of their home governments against the encroachments of federal *diktat.* If these bold revisionists succeed in their gambit, the nation will have won a great victory—for the problem of the last half-century is not just that the federal government has been incompetently directed, but that it has proceeded without any principled limits.

The rule of law means that even society's masters will be subject to oversight and moderation. Our Founders fought a revolution to restore the rule of law over our land after it was usurped by the British Crown. Every paragraph in the Declaration of Independence except the first three concerns the Crown's violations of the rule of law—particularly, the usurpation of the authority of local legislatures by royal courts and other functionaries. This, no doubt, is why four of the first eight amendments to the Constitution concern limits on federal courts, and why three concern limits on the executive. Having claimed the right to local self-determination by force of arms, the Founders then created a rule of law called the Constitution of the United States, which delineates and delimits the U.S. government.

This new regime establishes two levels of government that are quite distinct, not merely smaller and bigger versions of the same thing. The states are our governments of "general jurisdiction," meaning they wield "police powers" for the regulation of domestic order. It is under state-legislated rules that the U.S. citizenry are "like members of a well-governed family...bound to conform their general behavior to the rules of propriety, good neighborhood, and good manners: and to be decent, industrious, and inoffensive in their respective stations," to use the traditional definition formulated by William Blackstone.

The federal government, on the other hand, is an administration of delegated, limited, and "few" powers, exercised chiefly over "external" objects, according to our Constitution. The federal government doesn't regulate "family" affairs, and indeed is not even a "state" in any traditional sense of the term. This is why Wilson characterized our national charter as a "a system hitherto unknown." In a move of extraordinary audacity, our founders resisted the temptation to create a "state" in the classical sense—that is, a state having plenary powers over all aspects of life. Guided by a shrewd reading of history and possessed of an uncommon trust in the competence of the people in local assemblies, our founders refused to delegate to the national government powers to handle the myriad problems that arise in the "ordinary course of affairs."

The U.S. government, for example, was not given powers over family life, religious life, or the education of children. It has no powers to insure that citizens receive medical checkups, or that teenagers receive condoms before they go to the high school prom. It has no legitimate authority to dictate whether schools be all male or all female, nor power to encourage teenagers to play basketball at midnight. Nor has it power to dictate whether Christmas carols be sung on the county courthouse steps. It has no brief to regulate the treatment of kangaroo rats or hoot owls, much less to prefer the well-being of such critters to the property and lives of freeholders in the various states.

Indeed, when the Constitution was ratified by the states, three of them did so only under the explicit provision that they reserved powers not delegated and retained the right to resume even those few powers that *were* delegated. The Virginia ratifying convention, for example, stipulated that "the powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the peo-

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ple of the United States, be resumed by them whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and that every power, not granted thereby, remains with them, and at their will."

It is only in our lifetime that the state governments have completely capitulated to the suzerainty of the federal body, though the shift began earlier. The power of the U.S. government to regulate commerce has expanded steadily since the country's beginnings, but it wasn't until after World War II that the national government helped itself to authority over the domestic and cultural realm that is the essential arena of a government of general jurisdiction. It is true, of course, that the ballooning power of the federal government in the 1930s and '40s adversely affected the state governments. Federal laws and policies concerning taxes, war, and commerce cannot help but influence the culture and habits of the people. But the essential institutions and practices through which daily culture is reproduced remained under the watch of state governments until fairly recently.

For a long time, those who accused the national government of exercising powers not delegated to it fought their battles over the proper limits to federal regulation of interstate commerce, because that is where the Constitution gives the clearest opening to federal authority. But while it is difficult to say precisely where the federal power to regulate interstate commerce ends, it is not difficult to show that power over interstate commerce is not a tool for perfecting man or remolding his communities. That is a prescription for the destruction of all real community, including the rule of law.

At least as serious as the despoliation of state economies by federal mandates and taxes are the non-economic encroachments on state authority. Consider the usurpations of state powers of criminal law (to prohibit loitering, for example), the perversion of juries, the prohibition of expressions of religion in public places, the many intrusions on family life, the impairments of local schools.

And consider the usurpation of the power of the state governments to make and

The problem of the last half-century is not just that the federal government has been incompetently directed, but that it has proceeded without any principled limits.

enforce laws on matters of life and death. This takes us into some of the most perplexing and emotionally heated moral questions, but the argument that follows could be accepted both by those who desire to forbid abortions and by those who would maintain the legal privilege of a woman to abort a child at any time for any reason. The question is: Which of the two kinds of government recognized by the Constitution has jurisdiction over such matters?

In 1972, all but three of the states maintained common and statutory law on the matter of abortion. While their policies differed, all of them claimed the power in principle to make, administer, and adjudicate laws in this area. This is precisely the sort of issue that falls under the police powers of a government of general jurisdiction.

Then in 1973, the Supreme Court ruled in *Roe v. Wade* that an individual alone has the right to determine whether the unborn shall live or die. This determination had nothing to do with self-defense, for the laws being contested (those of the state of Texas) had an exception in the case of life-threatening illness. Nor did the Court rule that the unborn are not human beings. Rather, having surveyed the text of the Constitution and federal case law on the subject, Justice Blackmun simply concluded that there is no federal *requirement* that the unborn be regarded as legally protectable human beings. He went on to insist that because no clear directive can be found in federal law, no state law may touch the question.

Immediately, we see the confusion of the two kinds of government. For 47 of the states had exceedingly clear laws on this question. For that matter, there are any number of state laws for which one will find no equivalent in the U.S. statute books or case law. And this is just as it should be. Indeed, the absence of federal law on the question ought to have provided *prima facie* evidence that our history, laws, and institutions reserved this matter for the police powers of the states. To say that a particular issue is very important from a moral point of view is no argument that it is automatically a federal concern. Abraham Lincoln, for example, judged slavery a grave evil to be combatted by all legitimate means, but in his first inaugural address he pledged to maintain "inviolate" the "rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions." A continuing example of this would be marriage law. Marriage is *the* foundational institution of any culture; the condition of marriage and family life has enormous implications for social functions, for economic prosperity, for child-rearing, and the well-being of men, women, and children. Yet it is an unquestionable fact that the U.S. government was not delegated powers to direct the institution of marriage.

Regarding the 10th Amendment, the problem with the Court-created "right" to abortion is not what it permits the woman to do, but what it forbids the citizens of the states to do or not do. A federally manufactured "right" trumps all common law and statutory law of the several states—not only on abortion itself, but also on the common law definitions of marriage. For in *Roe's* companion cases *Eisenstadt v. Baird* (1972) and *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* (1992), the Court declared unconstitutional the most ancient common law on spousal rights and responsibilities related to the bearing of children.

All this despite the fact that the Constitution nowhere gives the U.S. government any power to define marriage and family life. Family law is precisely the sort of "internal" object that was denied to the U.S. government by the Founders. One may argue that the Court's alterations in

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the relations between mother and child and husband and wife are desirable for our contemporary society. But the fact remains that this was accomplished by dissolving the vital powers of domestic regulation that are unambiguously reserved in the Constitution to the states. And the Court did not stop there. In *Carey v. Population Services* (1977) it invalidated New York laws prohibiting the sale or distribution of contraceptives to minors, thereby usurping not only state police powers, but also interposing the U.S. government in the sacred space between parents and their children. Having moved state governments out of the way by extirpating the principle of divided sovereignty, the U.S. government had to destroy the remaining contenders to its regal rule. The Pharaoh on the Potomac does not just want slaves; he wants to eliminate any competition.

While the Court's unconstitutional incursions into family law met with almost no resistance from the states, several states did contest the draconian limitation of their powers regarding abortions. Embarrassed by the fact that the ruling rested upon a hazily imagined right of privacy, and caught in the tangled web of its own precedents, the Court tried once again to settle the matter in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* (1992). There the Court decided that the individual's immunity from state oversight in this area is really a "liberty" guaranteed by the 14th Amendment's due-process clause.

What kind of liberty did the Court have in mind? "At the heart of liberty is the right to define one's own concept of existence, of meaning, of the universe, and of the mystery of human life. Beliefs about these matters could not define the attributes of personhood were they formed under compulsion of the State." The Court thus imposed a right of liberty

The 10th Amendment on★ the March

State of the States

In their State of the State addresses this year, governors put Washington on notice:

"Let the futile potentates of the Potomac be warned: We are growing weary of your ways—so kindly get out of ours." (Gov. Fife Symington of Arizona)

"New ideas to Washington, D.C., seem to be old ideas to the state of Mississippi." (Gov. Kirk Fordice of Mississippi)

"We are charting a new direction . . . away from the failed approach of centralized power in Washington, and back to the founders' design of a true federal system of shared powers." (Gov. George Allen of Virginia)

Colorado Says Cease and Desist

From Colorado Joint Resolution 94-1052, which passed last year:

"The state of Colorado hereby claims sovereignty under the 10th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States over all other powers not otherwise enumerated and granted to the federal government by the United States Constitution, including at least sovereignty over its people and its natural resources . . . the federal government, as our agent, is hereby instructed to cease and desist, effective immediately, mandates that are beyond the scope of its authority under the 10th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States."

Revolts Across the Nation

"California has joined Colorado, Missouri, Hawaii and Illinois in asserting 10th Amendment rights," summarizes economist Walter Williams in a special report. Other resolutions "in protest against the heavy-handed mandates and edicts of Congress" are in the introductory or drafting stage in 12 other states. . . . In response to the heavy hand of the U.S. Forest Service, New Mexico's Catron County officials entered the U.S. Constitution as a county ordinance. . . . Following Catron County's lead, five other New Mexico counties, every Utah county and Clark County in Nevada have begun resisting."

Remember the Cities, Too

"States and local governments should be full partners in writing and implementing regulations, not vassals of Big Brother," says Mayor Gregory S. Lashutka of Columbus, Ohio. Lashutka's complaints include

• The new Transportation Employees Act that requires random testing of city truck drivers for alcohol and drug use at a cost of $50,000 to $100,000 annually.

• The Underground Storage Tank Act, which requires Columbus to move all city fuel tanks above ground. Cost to the city's Fire Division: $950,000—equal to three or four new fire trucks.

Columbus did a first-of-its-kind study in 1991 to determine how much mandates were affecting the city, and found that 14 major environmental mandates alone would add $1.6 billion to city costs from 1991 to 2000. Each Columbus family's share, reflected primarily in water and sewer bills, would be $850 a year.

Mandate Kudzu

Major new statutory enactments from 1981–90, as reported by *Intergovernment Perspective*:

• Age Discrimination in Employment Act Amendments of 1986 • Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 • Asbestos Hazard Emergency Response Act of 1986 • Cash Management Improvement Act of 1990 • Child Abuse Amendments of 1984 • Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987 • Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990 • Commercial Motor Vehicle

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that, if consistently applied, would give citizens an immunity from virtually *all* laws issued by state and local legislatures, rendering any government of laws impossible.

In short, the U.S. government has decreed that the people, deliberating and acting through local democratic assemblies in their respective states, have no legislative competence to protect the transmission of life from one generation to the next by making and enforcing laws, formulating public policies, or conducting any public business that touches upon an alleged right to choice and privacy. Let us be clear: the ultimate end of such a right is not the emancipation of the individual but the destruction of any authority other than that of the U.S. government.

To say that a particular issue is very important from a moral point of view is not argument that it is automatically a federal concern.

The Court's logic has explosive implications. After all, the first act of civil government is the abolition of private acts of violence. The state is vested with a monopoly over lethal force. When, as in abortion justified as a private decision, individuals are enfranchised to use lethal force for merely private ends, the critical power originally invested in civil government is relinquished. By breaking the states' monopoly over the use of lethal force, the U.S. government essentially dissolves the state governments. What remains are merely money-collecting and road-paving operations. Indeed, a reason-

Safety Act of 1986 • Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1985 • Drug-free Workplace Act of 1988 • Education of the Handicapped Act Amendments of 1986 • Education of the Handicapped Act Amendments of 1990 • Emergency Planning and Community Right-to-Know Act of 1986 • Fair Housing Act Amendments of 1988 • Hazardous and Solid Waste Amendments of 1984 • Handicapped Children's Protection Act of 1986 • Highway Safety Amendments of 1984 • Lead Contamination Control Act of 1988 • Ocean Dumping Ban Act of 1988 • Older Workers Benefit Protection Act of 1990 • Safe Drinking Water Act Amendments of 1986 • Social Security Amendment of 1983 • Social Security: Fiscal 1991 Budget Reconciliation Act • Surface Transportation Assistance Act of 1982 • Voting Accessibility for the Elderly and Handicapped Act of 1984 • Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1982 • Water Quality Act of 1987.

Resisting Encroachments

New York's Orange County Coalition of Taxpayer Associations is working to pass a resolution reiterating the 10th Amendment, and threatening to withhold federal income taxes of New York residents if the federal government continues to interfere. "Tenth Amendment Committees have sprouted in Alaska, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington.... In Arizona, Gov. Fife Symington coaxed the state legislature into setting aside $1 million for 10th Amendment challenges to federal environmental laws. California Gov. Pete Wilson was the first to use the 10th Amendment to challenge federal immigration policies that require states to pick up the tab for benefits to illegals. Florida and Texas soon followed suit. Western sheriffs are defying the Brady law, which requires background checks on gun purchasers. Sheriff Jay Printz of Ravalli County, Montana, said he has neither the time nor the resources to run background checks on everybody. A federal district judge in Montana struck down a portion of the Brady law in a decision based upon the 10th Amendment, citing the Supreme Court ruling in a similar case involving nuclear waste in New York. Other gun-control cases have been filed in Arizona, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, and Vermont." (*Washington Times*, 8/1/94)

The Feds Fight Back

The Individual Rights Foundation of Los Angeles is suing the U.S. government for conspiring to violate the free-speech and assembly rights of the states' rights movement, the *Washington Times* reports. IRF obtained confidential government notes of an August 30 meeting in which officials from the U.S. Departments of Justice, Interior, and Agriculture discussed ways to, in the notes' words, "stop the states' rights movement" through civil or criminal legal pressure against activists protesting federal land ownership in the West, to be directed by the Department of Justice.

Chance for the Supreme Court to Uphold the 10th Amendment

The U.S. Supreme Court will rule this term on the constitutionality of a part of the Crime Control Act of 1990 that makes it a federal crime to possess a firearm within 1,000 feet of a school. Although Texas already had such a law, when San Antonio student Alfonzo Lopez was arrested for bringing a handgun to class, he was charged under the federal law instead. After his conviction, Lopez appealed on the grounds that the federal statute failed to invoke any delegated power of Congress for its authority. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals rejected the government lawyers' hastily assembled argument that the Act was a legitimate exercise of Congress's power over interstate commerce. Unanimously overturning Lopez's conviction, the Court stated that "the 10th Amendment...obviously proceeds on the assumption that the reach of [the commerce] power is not unlimited."

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able person can wonder whether there is any local government left at all.

The federal courts' granting of a private franchise to use lethal force does not stop with abortion. Less than two years after the citizens of the state of Washington voted to uphold the state's prohibition of physician-assisted suicide, a federal judge invalidated the statute as unconstitutional (*Roe v. Washington*, 1994). The judge denied the citizens any political competence over the private use of lethal force against innocent members of their community—at least when a person is ill and gives his consent to be killed. We have come a long way since the early nineteenth century, when our ancestors debated whether the Constitution gives the national government the power to make internal improvements in the roads and harbors.

Again, the legitimacy of abortion and euthanasia is not the sole issue here. There is also the central question of jurisdiction and political process. If we are to be citizens and not slaves, these difficult matters must be settled by democratic debate in the jurisdictions our Constitution provides for them. The zealotry of all sides in these debates would be moderated if one's only hope of success lay in persuading his fellow citizens through democratic means. The recent efforts of both sides in the abortion debate to use the U.S. government to impose "gag" rules on their opponents, and to turn every local dispute into new opportunities for expanding the surveillance powers of the U.S. government, are symbols of federal coercion prevailing over legislative deliberation.

The U.S. government has run amok; it is no longer a government under the rules of the Constitution, nor seemingly a government under any rules at all. What can be done? We have three options.

• Option one, tinkering with the status quo, will not work. For decades, advocates of limited government have failed in their efforts to fix flawed policies of the U.S. government in areas like welfare, education, family life, and religion. The reason these repair efforts have failed is because the real problem in many cases is not policy but jurisdiction. In many areas—for instance, education—lasting progress will not be possible until authority is returned to our citizenry at the local level.

Local leaders from across the country should gather to develop a political, legal, and constitutional plan to challenge federal domination. Place the focus not on *unfunded* federal mandates but on *federal* mandates; know when to stop talking policy and when to begin talking jurisdiction.

• A second option—reestablishing dual sovereignty through a constitutional convention—is gravely flawed. A constitutional convention is far more likely to make matters worse than better. If the country's leaders do not appreciate the principles embodied in the 10th Amendment as it stands, we cannot expect them to act well in re-drawing our basic law. They would probably permanently barter away powers that have been usurped in exchange for a few spending restrictions—and our fundamental problem is not wasted money but confiscated citizenship.

• The third option is a return to divided sovereignty as established by the U.S. Constitution. I agree with Senator Dole: Now is the time to forcefully invoke the 10th Amendment—the legal and peaceful path to democratic self-government provided by our supreme law. But beware: The 10th Amendment is not a cure-all. State governments too can act unwisely and unjustly (indeed, many have now become mere miniatures of the U.S. government). Nor can the principles of the 10th Amendment directly solve our cultural difficulties. Renewed obedience to the 10th Amendment would, however, provide an opening for the return of reinvigorated local authority. It would permit our crucial culture-forming institutions to begin producing antibodies to fight off disease. It would prevent local disputes from becoming occasions for national confrontation.

I cannot say which issues local and state officials should use to mount 10th Amendment challenges. The life and death issues are perhaps too hot and confusing to be the right launching pad for a challenge. Depending on the particular state, the issue could be property rights, crime, immigration, religion, or education. The key here is not the particular issue, but recovery of the principle of divided sovereignty. Utah Gov. Mike Leavitt, who leads a group of governors and state legislators pressing this issue, wisely stresses the need to prevent single-issue groups from hijacking the process of rehabilitating the 10th Amendment. He also seems to understand the crucial point that this is not a scrap over financial resources. States, says Leavitt, have been asking Congress the wrong question—whether there is going to be funding to carry out what Congress wants, rather than whether the federal government should be playing a role in certain policy areas at all. "States need most to create a better competitive position," Leavitt recently told *Governing* magazine.

The solution backed by Leavitt and other governors as well as some members of the National Conference of State Legislatures is a "Conference of the States," where local leaders from across the country would gather to develop a political, legal, and constitutional plan, and consolidate sufficient power to challenge federal domination. Leavitt and others say they hope a constitutional convention would not be necessary, but that it is useful for Congress to remember that states do have the power to convene such if they decide they have no other recourse. This is the proper strategy for the states: Place the focus not on *unfunded* federal mandates but on *federal* mandates; and know when to stop talking policy and when to begin talking jurisdiction.

The challenges must not center on whether it is good or bad to shave a woman's head at the Citadel, or to have more hoot owls in Wyoming, or midnight basketball in Detroit. Those questions can be resolved in democratic assemblies in the states and localities. What we need political leaders to say now is, "The fed-

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eral government doesn't need to be fixed, it needs to be fenced." It will take extraordinary discipline to argue jurisdiction when our political and rhetorical habits urge us to talk about specific policies. It's an open question as to whether such discipline can be achieved. But we can be sure of this: If the new Congress aims simply to reduce the size of some federal programs, today's efforts to limit government will end up being only transitory, minor, and material. Material limits that go down can later go up. Government limiting only becomes lasting when it goes beyond shrinking orders of magnitude and aims at *principled* limits.

Nothing in either public opinion or in constitutional case law poses an insurmountable barrier to a crusade by the states to reclaim their status as America's governments of general jurisdiction. And just as the rights and responsibilities of the states were not usurped in just one case, so too they cannot be restored by just one challenge. The right issues, or clusters of issues, have to be picked for launching the riposte. It will take considerable political cleverness to win this crucial struggle.

And if these efforts are made and still the U.S. government does not submit to the rule of constitutional law, then it may one day face a group of citizens repeating Jefferson's words of 1776:

> He has erected a multitude of new offices and sent hither swarms of new officers to harass our people and eat out of their substance.... He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions & unacknowledged by our laws...taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the form of our governments; suspending our own legislatures, & declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.... A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

The Williamsburg Resolve

Reporting on the Republican Governors Conference that met in Virginia after the recent election, the *Economist* provided this summary: "To the beating of drums and to the sound of pipes playing 'Yankee Doodle Dandy,' they summoned the spirits of the Founding Fathers and declared the start of a new revolution...the governors' message is clear: Leave us alone. 'My priority is for Texans to be able to run Texas,' proclaims Texas's governor-elect George W. Bush. The states 'are not colonies of the federal government,' says California's Pete Wilson. 'Give us the ball and then get out of the way,' demands Mike Leavitt, the governor of Utah. Governors should no longer have to go to Washington 'on bended knee to kiss the ring' if they want to experiment with reforms, says Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin."

Adapting the text of his own Executive Order on Self-Determination and Federalism, Virginia Gov. George Allen drafted The Williamsburg Resolve, which was adopted unanimously by the 30 governors present. Some excerpts:

"Here and in other colonial capitals, the nation's founders first debated the idea of independence and the fundamental principles of freedom.... Chief among [the checks and balances the founders established] were to be the State governments, whose co-equal role was expressly acknowledged in the 10th Amendment to the Constitution.... The federal government, by contrast, was given certain expressly enumerated powers and denied all others.... Today, there is virtually no area of public responsibility or private activity in which Federal authorities do not assert the power to override the will of the people in the States.... *Our freedoms are no longer safe when they exist only at the sufferance of Federal legislators, Federal courts, and Federal bureaucrats....*

"*The current, cresting feeling of frustration and futility among voters is not an inexplicable phenomenon. To the contrary, it is a direct and wholly predictable consequence of the shift of government power to institutions beyond the grasp of the people....*

"*We are therefore resolved to pursue energetically in the Federal courts 10th Amendment challenges to Federal encroachments into the domain of the States....*

"*We are therefore resolved to promote in our respective States and nationally the convening of the Conference of the States, and to urge passage of Resolutions in our respective State legislatures....*"

As an appendix to The Williamsburg Resolve, the governors adopted Ohio Gov. George Voinovich's State-Federal Legislative Agenda for the 104th Congress:

"While state and local governments were forced to comply with only 19 new mandates between 1970 and 1986, since the late-1980s the Congress has passed into legislation some 72 mandates.... Unfunded mandates will cost the nation's cities and counties nearly $88 billion over five years, consuming about one-quarter of all locally raised revenue by 1998....

"The Safe Drinking Water Act...requires the federal Environmental Protection Agency to identify 25 new substances every three years that local systems must test for in their water supply. Cities from coast to coast are now forced to bear the costs of testing their drinking water for substances that have literally been banned for decades....

"While the federal government readily acknowledges that illegal immigration is a national responsibility, the states are nonetheless forced to pay for failed federal immigration policies. The state of California has determined that the cost of educating illegal immigrants in California public schools in fiscal years 1994–95 is $1.5 billion. The cost of providing emergency health care to this same population is $395 million over those years.... The state has estimated that federal mandates on California in the current fiscal year [cost] nearly $8 billion....

"The debate over federal mandates is not about the environment, health care, entitlement programs, or any other single issue. It is about our government's structure and the interaction of its various pieces."

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STATEHOUSE KNIGHTS OF THE GOP

Michael Barone

Illustration by Kevin Bapp

The Republican governors of the middle 1990s, 30 strong, politically united, have suddenly emerged as the most cohesive and creative body of state and local politicians since the young, liberal Democratic mayors of the late 1960s. These 29 men and one woman, most of them relatively young and little-known nationally, head the governments of the states where 71 percent of Americans live. And, starting with the Republican Governors' Association meeting in Williamsburg the month after the November 1994 election, they have argued with coherence and force for new initiatives in public policy and have been received with respect and even deference by the new Senate Majority Leader and the Speaker of the House, Bob Dole and Newt Gingrich.

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If—and this proposition must still be preceded with a prominent if—the Republicans become America's natural majority party for a long generation again in the 1990s, as they did in the 1890s, these Republican governors will be among those who "forced the spring" (to borrow a metaphor from Bill Clinton's inaugural) and provided the prototype for successful ruling politicians of the future. Who are these Republican governors? What are their backgrounds and basic political beliefs? What changes are they likely to seek? How will they govern?

The first thing to be said about the new Republican governors is that, despite the japes of the press, they are not children of privilege, born to lead. The seeming exceptions prove the rule: the press likes to harp on the supposedly aristocratic background of William Weld (Massachusetts), Fife Symington (Arizona), Christie Whitman (New Jersey), and George W. Bush (Texas), but on inspection these are not particular advantages. As Republicans who supported rather than opposed basic American values, they were very much in the minority at Harvard, Wheaton, and Yale (Bush was in the same class as Garry Trudeau, then drawing his first Doonesbury strips for the Yale *Daily News*). Unlike Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton, old school ties didn't much help their careers. But they didn't hurt much either. This is not a forelock-tugging country. You get no sense of people deferring to their betters out on the campaign trail: all of these governors are addressed by their first names, asked bold questions, and looked straight in the eye. Nor is class envy a problem (except among reporters). In debate Christie Whitman felt free to say, "I know about taxes. My husband and I paid over a million dollars in taxes last year."

More typical are Terry Branstad of Iowa, now the nation's longest sitting governor at 48, Wisconsin's Tommy Thompson, the next senior Republican executive, and Michigan governor John Engler. They all come from rural and small town counties, the kinds of places where you wear parkas outside most of the year and where no one puts on airs. There is a burly, rough-and-ready tone to their oratory and conversation; they are capable of explaining complicated matters in clear language and occasionally even reach toward eloquence, but the accent is that of solid everyday people. Almost none of these governors grew up in their state's metropolis or capital; few were from families of any more than the most local prominence (exceptions: Ed Schafer's family owns Gold Seal Wax, North Dakota's biggest business, and George Allen, whose father coached the Washington Redskins). Two with a metropolitan background are ethnics: Ohio's George Voinovich, who grew up in Cleveland, is of Serbian descent; New York governor George Pataki, who grew up in the little industrial city of Peekskill on the Hudson, springs from Hungarian forebears. Some are transplants: Symington moved from Maryland to Arizona, and became a controversial developer; Tennessee's Don Sundquist migrated along the Mississippi from downstate Illinois to Memphis; George Allen grew up in California and settled on a farm outside Charlottesville; Pete Wilson grew up in the suburbs of St. Louis and remained in California after he served in the Marine Corps. But most of today's Republican governors are firmly (though not prominently) rooted in the state whose administration they now head.

THE PATTERN OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY MAY BE THE ONE PIONEERED BY TODAY'S SUCCESSFUL REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS: DEVOLUTION OF PUBLIC POLICY AND OF POLITICAL AMBITION AS WELL.

The second, and perhaps most remarkable, thing about these Republicans is that almost all of them are experienced professional politicians. For years Republican consultants have complained that too many of their candidates pledge to "run government like a business"; these Republicans know that you must run government like a government, and they obviously like doing so. Some have spent virtually all of their adult lives in politics: John Rowland of Connecticut was first elected to the legislature at 23, Pete Wilson at 33, Illinois' Jim Edgar at 30, Terry Branstad at 26, John Engler at 22, George Voinovich at 30, Tommy Thompson at 25. Indeed, Engler, Thompson, and Voinovich all went to school in their state capitals and have spent most of their time there since; Thompson, Voinovich, Wilson, Minnesota governor Arne Carlson, and Phil Batt of Idaho have political careers going back to the 1960s. Several worked as staffers or appointees of strong-minded governors: Jim Edgar was a top aide to James Thompson, and New Hampshire's Stephen Merrill served John Sununu; Christie Whitman was appointed to a regulatory board by Thomas Kean and Utah's Mike Leavitt chaired the state university board of regents. These are not neophytes.

But neither have most of them been, until very recently, in the majority. In most of their state capitals Democrats have had legislative majorities, and liberals have dominated public discussion of issues. Thompson, Engler, and Edgar all enjoy Republican legislatures for the first time in their careers, Voinovich for the first time since 1970. Branstad has a big majority in the Iowa House and hopes for a Republican Senate in 1996; and on Election Day Wilson received a 41–39 majority in the California Assembly. To pursue a political career under these circumstances required a contrarian nature, a willingness to endure both constant defeat and frequent embarrassment. It also required a quiet aggressiveness, a willingness to take risks and make enemies. George Pataki, for example, has gotten ahead by beating other Republicans, first an incumbent assemblyman, then a state senator he had once worked for, then the state Senate president who had cold-shouldered his candidacy (who Pataki caused to be deposed, while he was on vacation in Florida, after the election). Ambition plays a role here, but it is generally combined with principle: the state senators Pataki elbowed aside, for instance, were part of the bipartisan coalition that maintained high spending both in New York City bureaucracies and in suburban school systems; Pataki believes both areas need to be cut.

Which leads to the third thing these governors have in common: they all want

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to trim back, cut, limit, hem in, and discipline government. They are quite unlike the best-known Republican governors of a generation or so ago, who included some of the biggest increasers of public spending of all time: Nelson Rockefeller, Francis Sargent, William Milliken, James Thompson. This earlier group came to power with little or no elective experience, at a time when it was assumed that voters had an unquenchable appetite for more government. If Republicans didn't provide the goodies, went the reasoning, Democrats would sweep them aside. In large northern states, at least, earlier Republicans also thought that it would be political death to oppose labor unions. The old Republican governors also tended to agree with the liberal big city mayors of the day that government housing, job training, and community action programs were the way to end poverty. Jogged by John Lindsay, Kevin White, Jerome Cavanagh, Coleman Young, Richard J. Daley, and Harold Washington, the Jurassic Republicans contributed generously to city coffers.

Today's Republicans have quite a different perspective. As minority party legislators they saw how public programs work—and don't work. They saw how much of the money goes to high salaries and pensions for bureaucrats, and how the Democratic party is sustained increasingly by public employee unions. They saw the expectations of the liberal big city mayors dashed, and became convinced that many programs nurture poverty and crime rather than stamping them out. They saw how the federal government mandates vast sums in spending, and how arrogant local judges have taken over the operation of prisons, public schools, and other public institutions, sometimes imposing huge spending increases without any regard for the democratic process.

The personal instincts of these governors, like those of the vast majority of politicians, are to accommodate. Their instincts on policy are to confront. In a wholly hostile environment, any accommodation perpetuates the underlying assumptions of the other side, and frames every issue their way. To make change against a prevailing conventional wisdom you must remember Benjamin Disraeli's advice (recalled to me some years ago by Newt Gingrich) that "the business of the opposition is to oppose." So Tommy Thompson takes on the welfare bureaucracy; John Engler dismantles the power of the teachers' unions; Bill Weld defies an overwhelmingly Democratic legislature; Christie Whitman and George Pataki promise deep tax cuts, with obvious implications for local government aid. Some of the Republican governors, like Jim Edgar and George Voinovich, are more accommodation-minded on many policies; but both Edgar and Voinovich are pushing strong partisan measures now that their party has won control of both houses of the legislature.

The largest goal of the Republican governors now is devolution—the return of money and power from the federal government to the states and localities. The liberal mayors of the 1960s wanted more federal programs and money, because they believed that through affirmative government measures, people could be lifted out of poverty. The Republican governors of the middle 1990s want to stop federal mandates, particularly on welfare and Medicaid, in the confidence that they can provide better services locally for less money, and because they have come to believe that programs intended to help the poor have become a kind of narcotic, keeping people dependent and poor rather than enabling them to improve themselves and their community. Like Newt Gingrich, they think the question is not whether to spend more or less to help the poor, but rather whether welfare programs that have spawned a criminal underclass should be changed or continued. They want the flexibility to reform programs free of federal bureaucrats and their restrictions.

The 1994 elections increased the Republican governors' numbers from 19 to 30, and presented them with friendly congressional majorities that hold little if any stake in the existing programs the governors want devolved. The governors pressed their advantage quickly, and Dole and Gingrich sought to assuage them—as Republican policy advisers began to realize that it would be much harder to design a whole new federal welfare program than it would be to just send the issue back to the states. Policy inclination and political advantage seem to be setting the Republicans on a unified course, one which requires only a little adjustment in rhetoric. While the Republicans can probably pass any welfare package they want through the House, Gingrich and Dole understand that it would help very much in preventing a filibuster in the Senate or a presidential veto if the united body of 30 Republican governors were wholeheartedly behind it.

It is often asked whether some of the Republican governors have national ambitions. One immediate answer is that their central push for devolution of governmental power is itself national in scope and significance. But few of them seem to have serious interest in running for president. Pete Wilson and Bill Weld are frequently mentioned as candidates for president, and Christie Whitman as a candidate for vice president; but all three have positions on abortion and other cultural issues including gay rights that are very much out of step with their party's core constituency, religious conservatives. In early 1995 none has yet made any significant move toward a national candidacy. Tommy Thompson and John Engler have also been mentioned as presidential candidates, but they have made no serious moves to run. Their ambitions, and those of other Republican governors, seem limited to their states, where many of them can take satisfaction in having made genuine transformations in the political climate and vast changes in public policy. Only 4 of the 30 Republican governors ever served in the House, two quite desultorily, and Pete Wilson gave up a seat in the Senate for the governor's office in Sacramento—so their interest in Washington has not been pronounced. The presidency has been reduced in stature by the end of the Cold War, and the federal government itself stands to be reduced in stature if the Republican governors' policies of devolution succeed. Thus the pattern of the twenty-first century may be the one pioneered by today's successful Republican governors: devolution of public policy and of political ambition as well.

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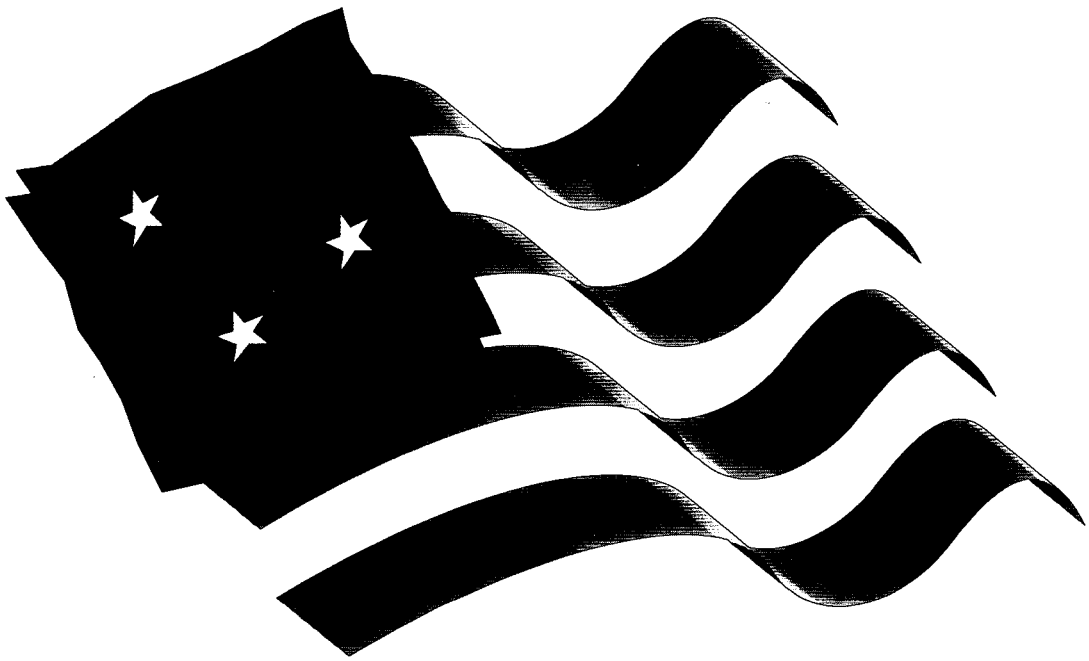
SMALLER IS *Beautifuller*

Bill Kauffman



Will a modern Betsy Ross someday stitch a 51st, 52nd, or 53rd star onto Old Glory?

Both major parties have taken unpopular stands on behalf of swelling these United States, with a Republican president championing statehood for Puerto Rico and congressional Democrats boosting the District of Columbia.

Meanwhile, clamant cries for statehood rise from such deeply American regions as Northern California, Upstate New York, and West Kansas, only to fall on deaf ears. West Kansas? Yes, West Kansas.

West Kansas is unlikely to be fitted for a star anytime soon, but its agitated patriots have sounded a tocsin to which localist hearts thrill—and which centralists ignore at their peril. From Kansas and a few other American locales, including California and New York, there are harbingers of what could someday be a Great Devolution: the rupture of overlarge states into polities of more manageable and human scale. The message for the political era ahead is this: *Think Small*

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Article IV, Section 3 of the U.S. Constitution makes state parturition a straightforward affair: "New states may be admitted by the Congress into this union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of the Congress." Four states have been formed in this way, most recently West Virginia, which was sliced from the Old Dominion in 1863.

This is of more than merely antiquarian interest to Don Concannon, the pugnacious instigator of the West Kansas statehood movement. A lawyer from Hugoton, Concannon is an erstwhile state Republican chairman (1968–70) and a two-fisted maverick. His home is Stevens County, whose 900 square miles are brimful with natural gas but sparsely populated by 5,048 people.

In January 1992 Concannon was infuriated by then-Governor Joan Finney's proposal (soon enacted into law) to grant Topeka the power to dictate per pupil expenditures to every school district in the state, as well as to set a uniform property tax levy statewide. (Finney's proposal emerged from that eternal begetter of devil's spawn: a "bipartisan commission.")

Not only did this usurp the traditional right of localities to fund schools according to local preferences, it walloped counties such as Stevens, with its high property values generated by the natural gas reserves. Taxes in Stevens County would increase sharply under Finney's plan—while at the same its school budgets would face state-mandated reductions. "We pay $8 million for a $1 million budget cut, and it goes to the east.... It's absolutely asinine," fumed Concannon.

On January 27, 1992, Concannon fired off a letter to the Stevens County Board of Commissioners requesting that it submit to the voters the question of whether to "pursue the steps necessary to immediately disassociate Stevens County from the authority of the state of Kansas for the purpose of establishing a new state or other independent republic."

"They laughed at me," recalls Concannon three years later. "Then the people started carrying petitions," which in two weeks contained 800 signatures. The commissioners permitted a vote. And that spring the people of Stevens County voted 1,469–73 to divorce from Kansas.

Statehood seized the popular imagination. As with the early days of the Perot insurgency (with which it was coeval) it was spontaneous, rambunctious, and invigorating. Eight other western counties soon voted overwhelmingly to join Stevens; in September 1992 a convention of breakaway West Kansans was held in Ulysses, and the gunpowder smell of 1775 was in the air. "We really believed that if we could keep our own money we'd be better off," says Morton County Commissioner Bob Boaldin, whose voice drips with cautery: "We trade with Texas and Oklahoma. All Wichita and Topeka want is our money."

Once broached, the unthinkable became...thinkable. Activists in nearby eastern Colorado, northwest Texas, and the Oklahoma panhandle lit fires of independence that blazed with varying intensities. Some even spoke of coalescence, for "the way of life which we have and which we prefer is mutually shared by people in these areas," notes Concannon. If the idea of an independent West Kansas strikes us as absurd that is only because we know so little about the place. But just because Hollywood and Manhattan don't see West Kansas doesn't mean it isn't there.

Eventually, the West Kansans put secession on hold and instead shelled Topeka with the musket balls of contemporary American defiance—lawsuits filed by 17 school districts. But at the end of 1994, the Kansas Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the 1992 act. While new Governor Bill Graves has promised to work with the legislature to ensure that each Kansas student blah-blahblah, West Kansans are back to square one. If they don't get relief from the legislature—and the savvy Concannon doubts they will—the discontent "is going to keep building and smoldering, then it's going to erupt."

The alienation of outlanders is even more acute in the states of New York and California, where Thomas Jefferson's dictum that citizens must be capable of "transacting in person a great portion of [their] rights and duties" is a virtual nullity. The civic responsibility of the average Californian has withered to the obligation "to watch television and go out and buy stuff," says ex-Governor Jerry Brown. The vastitude of California leads to unspeakably vapid campaigns via television, in which Dianne Feinstein and Michael Huffington are no more real to the citizen of Weed or Ukiah than Zach the Power Ranger.

In New York, neither Democratic gubernatorial candidate Mario Cuomo nor Republican George Pataki bothered to appear in 38 of the state's 62 counties during the fall 1994 campaign. Upstate New York has not elected one of its own as governor since 1920 (I exempt the cousin-marrier of Hyde Park). An Upstater has not been elected to the U.S. Senate since 1958.

The clearest illumination of New York's regional fault line was provided by George Pataki's victory. Mario Cuomo swept New York City, but was destroyed Upstate by a margin of 700,000 ballots—a sitting governor who won less than one-third of the non-City vote, losing every county but one.

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Photo courtesy, the *San Francisco Chronicle*

"State of Jefferson" rebels stop motorists on the highway near Yreka.

The idea of two New Yorks has an endearingly shaggy lineage. It was touted in 1861 by the pro-Confederate New York City Mayor Fernando Wood; by William Randolph Hearst in 1921, when it became obvious that he could never win the governorship if yokels had the franchise; and by mayoral candidate Norman Mailer in 1969 and Congresswoman Bella Abzug in 1971.

Of this motley quartet, novelist Mailer was the most trenchantly philosophical. "Power to the neighborhoods!" was his slogan, for in addition to attaining statehood, the New York City he envisaged would have devolved municipal government functions to the block level. Mailer's essay "An Instrument for the City" remains a classic indictment of the inanition and enervation bred by Big Government. Shorn of the f-words, it's very Jeffersonian:

> Our authority has been handed over to the federal power. We expect our economic solutions, our habitats, yes, even our entertainments, to derive from that remote abstract power, remote as the other end of a television tube. We are like wards in an orphan asylum. The shaping of the style of our lives is removed from us—we pay for huge military adventures and social experiments so separated from our direct control that we do not even know where to begin to look to criticize.... So our condition is spiritless. We wait for abstract impersonal powers to save us, we despise the abstractness of those powers, we loathe ourselves for our own apathy.

(Most of the pro-statehood liberals of 1971, including Abzug, opposed Mailer in 1969. They raised the specter of Governor Rockefeller sending in the troops, Lincoln-like, to crush a city secession. Mailer predicted that the army would never make it past Harlem.)

Abzug's own statehood effort was a genuine populist crusade, supported by a rainbow coalition of aggrieved urbanites and shrewd politicians who were too black, too Jewish, or too Spanish to be elected statewide. The *New York Times* consistently depreciated the effort as "demagoguery," i.e. speaking to the real concerns of actual people. The city clerk rejected enough of the 55,398 petition signatures to prevent a citywide referendum on statehood, and the cause fizzled.

(An odd footnote: The anti-secession forces were fortified by a Citizens Union report authored by an obscure professor who argued that decentralism was "reactionary" and unworkable. Her name was Donna Shalala. On the other side, an aide to Mayor Lindsay produced a report detailing the manifold benefits of New York City statehood. He was Leon Panetta.)

Assemblyman Donald Davidsen, a veterinarian from rural Steuben County, is the prime sponsor of the current effort to divide New York into two (or, as some Long Island legislators have proposed, three) states. "Ever since I was a little kid," says Davidsen, "when Upstaters get together you hear 'we oughtta just cut that off and let it float away'." When Davidsen introduced a bill to do just that it was dismissed by Governor Cuomo as "divisive"—"which of course it is," the assemblyman concedes with a chuckle.

Opposition has come, predictably, from the *New York Times*. (Big city papers are not always hostile to state divisions—the *Los Angeles Times* has given the California split respectful attention.) Some family-owned weeklies upstate have championed the cause, but the absentee-owned chain dailies—for instance, the Gannett papers that pimple the region—are generally scornful. (What does vapidity taste like? The *Star-Gazette* of Elmira, a Gannett paper, once editorialized: "Consider the Statue of Liberty, for example. All Americans take pride in that awesome symbol of freedom. But New Yorkers hold the statue in special esteem. If Davidsen and [Senator Randy] Kuhl had their way, the statue would no longer be a part of Western New York's annals. Neither would the Empire State Building, Central Park, the United Nations.... And what about what we share in common with downstaters? What would happen to the state flag; the state bluebird; the state flower, the rose; or the state tree, the sugar maple?")

Assemblyman Davidsen is given to conciliation ("New York City certainly is a cultural gem," he allows). He knows that divorce requires the consent of both parties, and he sees that "people in New York City are unhappy" with Albany and thus, just maybe, ripening into Mailerites. Davidsen is reintroducing his bill in 1995, along with a companion measure permitting New York's counties to hold non-binding referenda on the question. Should the matter ever reach the ballot, Davidsen expects pro-secession majorities running as high as 90 percent in rural counties. In their yearning for self-rule, upstate New Yorkers are not unlike West Kansans.

Contemporary New York secessionists are motivated by a combination of resentment against overweening Albany and the everlasting truth that a state so diverse is not governable except by tyranny. "The state doesn't represent either place very well," argues Davidsen. "Upstate we have too many regulations, too many mandates, too many taxes; downstate they don't have enough services, enough gun control."

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The tyranny of the urban over the rural is a common feature of such heterogenous states as New York. This takes many forms, some nettling (speed limits and seat-belt laws dictated by downstaters who don't even own cars), others onerous (gasoline taxes that subsidize straphangers; invasive gun control laws; pressure for school consolidation). As in most states, mandates from the capital suck counties dry. An example: My home of Genesee County has raised its sales tax by 1 percent to comply with Albany's demand that we replace our circa 1841 courthouse, a dignified limestone building that—shockingly! unconscionably!—lacks handicapped access, air conditioning, and daycare facilities. If, in the best American fashion, we tell Albany to go to hell, the state will send in hired cranes and bulldozers and construct a (1966-Bulgarian-design) courthouse for us, sticking us with the bill.

The recent election of Republican Governor George Pataki, a hail-fellow farmer/Wall Street lawyer bred on the border that separates Upstate from Downstate, may assuage some secessionists, at least briefly. Pataki, who owes his victory to upstate voters, understands the symbolic value of raising the speed limit and vacationing on North Country mountains. (Then again, his transition team included such agrarian radicals as Henry Kissinger and David Rockefeller.) And in their relief at being rid of the hated Cuomo, who viewed their region with barely disguised contempt, regarding it as fit for little more than radioactive waste dumps and prisons in which to warehouse Gotham's killers and yeggs, Upstaters are giving Pataki the benefit of all doubts.

Davidsen conjectures that in a Pataki-run state the movement for subdivision of New York "may find more support in New York City." He notes that the Mailer-Abzug rebellions flourished under the last Republican governor, Nelson Rockefeller, and indeed Norman Mailer himself has opined that "Governor Giuliani, at this moment, sounds better than Governor Pataki." Adding to the moment's propitiousness is the unthroning of State Senate Majority Leader Ralph Marino, a Long Islander, whose replacement by Upstater Joseph Bruno was done on Pataki's wink. Davidsen expects this will free Upstate senators who were "unwilling to cosponsor because it would've exiled their leader" to a Democratic Downstate.

The clearest illumination in decades of New York's regional fault lines was provided by Pataki's victory. Mario Cuomo won New York City by 600,000 votes, but he was destroyed Upstate by a margin of 700,000—a sitting governor who won less than one-third of the non-New York City vote, losing every county but one (Albany, our Guantanamo). The Upstate turnout was stunningly high: 92 percent in Seneca County, for example. In some rural counties Cuomo carried as little as a quarter of the vote, and even in urban counties like Onondaga, home to Syracuse, he won but 31 percent. Upstate counties account for under 40 percent of the state's population, so the balance of power rests on Long Island and in the suburbs, which were sick of Cuomo for many reasons, particularly his gratingly moralistic dismissals of middle-class anxieties.

Those anxieties are shared in the borough of Staten Island. In 1993, after a decade of grass-roots activism and politicking in the corridors of power by their venerable State Senator John Marchi, Staten Island voted to secede from New York City, to which it had become little more than a garbage dump full of bourgeois frumps. Staten Island's cityhood still requires the approval of the state legislature and the governor, and Mayor Giuliani is loathe to lose this white middle-class enclave of 400,000 without which he wouldn't have been elected. Predictably, the *New York Times* has been the loudest voice against home rule, blaming independence sentiment on "emotion and unsubstantiated fears."

Statham amended his proposal to its current incarnation of Three Californias: The woodsy north, with 2.3 million residents; the sprawling urban-suburban south, home to 17.5 million; and central California encompassing 10.5 million people between San Francisco and the San Joaquin Valley.

California ought to have divided long ago. In 1859 the legislature, with the governor's approval, petitioned Congress to separate the state at the Tehachapi Mountains. The "old Californians" of the Mexican south—prosperous agriculturalists—wanted to form the new territory of "Colorado" to avoid domination by *arriviste* Northerners, gold-panners and railroad barons. The terrible swift sword of the Civil War intervened, however, and California remained intact.

In pre-Clara Bow California it was the south that cried loudest for independence. Sacramento was just too far away. By 1920, though, you didn't need a demographer to know which way the population boomed, and the banner of separation began to be upheld by the North. The south teemed with prohibitionist newcomers hostile to the mining industry. There were cultural as well as economic divides. One San Franciscan warned in 1918 that "the people of the sanitary southland are preparing another slaughter of real Californians…Give 'em a separate state and let them call it Puritangeles" (a moniker rather less appropriate today).

On the eve of the Second World War, several northern counties joined with counties in southern Oregon in what was to be the new state of Jefferson—the poor condition of roads was the immediate gravamen. But then came war, and state boundaries (not to mention Thomas Jefferson) lost a relevance they have not since regained. Still, the fission movement refused to die, and its revival in 1992 was the most successful since 1859. In 1992 voters in 27 of 31 mostly northern counties approved an advi-

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sory ballot question asking whether the state ought to split in two.

Former nine-term Assemblyman Stan Statham of northern Shasta County spearheads the current effort to divide California. He began with a lovingly provincial vision of two Californias: the north country above San Francisco and Sacramento, sylvan and grapy—which some playfully suggested calling Superior California—and then everything else. "I started with two Californias because I'm a rural legislator," Statham explains. "I wanted to pull rural California away from metropolitan California."

But in the course of leading his people out of California this Moses discovered that "there are not 10 commandments but 12. The eleventh is that San Francisco and Los Angeles don't really want to be in the same state. The twelfth is that rural California doesn't want to be in a state with either of them."

So Statham amended his proposal to its current incarnation of Three Californias: The woodsy north, with 2.3 million residents; the sprawling urban-suburban south, home to 17.5 million; and central California from the San Joaquin Valley to San Francisco, encompassing Silicon Valley, Santa Barbara, and 10.5 million people between. "Logland, smogland, and fogland," as one jest goes.

Statham and his allies, who include Assembly Speaker Willie Brown (perhaps attracted by an escape from impending term limits), are unfailingly placatory: They guarantee the parched south that its contractual rights to northern water shall be inviolate; skittish students and parents have been assured that no public college or university may charge out-of-state tuition for a resident of any California; licenses and suchlike shall be valid throughout the tristate region.

A pie-divvying report was commissioned by the devolutionists: a March 1992 study put out by the California Assembly Office of Research entitled "Two Californias: An Equal Division." Noting that "California has become too large and too complex to be managed efficiently as a single unit," it recommended two states, divided at the Tehachapi Mountains—though it admitted the feasibility of a tripartite California.

How 32 million people can be governed from an insular city 400 miles from the state's population base is a puzzle that admits of no solution. The small size of the state's lower house (80 members, about half the size of New York's Assembly) means that California assemblymen represent 400,000 people—eight times more than the average American state legislator, and not far from the size of a U.S. Congressional district. The sense of powerlessness at the local level is exacerbated by a tangle of mandates that leaves as much as 90 percent of a typical county's budget effectively written in Sacramento. Because bigness is king, Statham grouses, you get the "same educational system in Los Molinos [population: 1,709] as in Los Angeles."

At an 1851 secession meeting in Santa Barbara, southern Californians declared that their unwieldily cobbled superstate was "in contradiction to the eternal ordinances of nature, who herself has marked with unerring hand the natural boundaries between the [north and] south." California's Field opinion poll indicates growing support for that notion in all sections of the state. While regional enmities are sometimes bitter, the gall and wormwood on which Upstate and Downstate New Yorkers breakfast is rarer in California. There are clashes, of course, especially over environmental issues. As Lassen County Supervisor Jim Chapman told the *New York Times*, "the urbanites think we're chainsaw fanatics. But restoration of the forests has happened because we do it, not some guy sitting in a swivel chair in Santa Monica." Yet the guys in swivel chairs call the shots: Stan Statham represented nine counties; the County of Los Angeles sends 26 legislators to the Assembly.

While advocates of Three Californias scrupulously avoid any hint of racialism, the prospect of drowning in an increasingly Mexicanized state is not widely regarded in the north as a desirable future. Almost half of all Californians living south of the 1859 dividing line, the Tehachapi Mountains, are nonwhite or Hispanic, and their numbers are inching upward.

On the other hand, historian Kevin Starr sees growing support for a "Latino-dominated state of Southern California, in which they would hold clear-cut advantages of historical heritage, geographic propinquity to Mexico and the Spanish Southwest, and demographic dominance." Among the fruits of statehood for Southern California would be, sooner rather than later, Mexican-American governors and senators.

California's secessionists suffered a temporary setback in 1994, when Stan Statham ran a spirited but losing campaign for the Republican nomination for lieutenant governor. "A vote for Stan Statham," he declared, "will be a vote for three Californias, plain and simple." But in another sign of the impuissance of the more thinly peopled north, Statham lost to a southerner. His bill to hold an advisory statewide referendum on a split—which passed the Assembly 46–26 in June 1993—never reached the Senate floor, and has now been bequeathed to others. Still, the former assemblyman, who has a flair for publicity dating from his days as a radio disk jockey and TV newscaster, is keeping his hand in the mix through his nonprofit Three Californias foundation.

If self-determination for West Kansas still seems fanciful, a whimsy straight out of *The Mouse That Roared*, the prospect of three Californias or two New Yorks is decidedly less so. We are a nation born in secession, consecrated to the right of a free people to rule themselves, and our inherited desire for local control flickers on. With every passing day, the antipathy of the outland for the imperious capitals—be they Washington, Albany, Sacramento, or Topeka—grows fiercer. Independence for regions such as the Oklahoma panhandle, eastern Colorado, Michigan's Upper Peninsula, northwest Texas, and southern Oregon may strike worldly ears as a delusion of romantics clinging stubbornly to principles long ago entombed in the foundation of centralized empire. But home rule is an old American story, and may be due for a revival by some band of cowlick Jeffersons. For when in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands that have tied them to another, self-evident truths have a funny way of asserting themselves.

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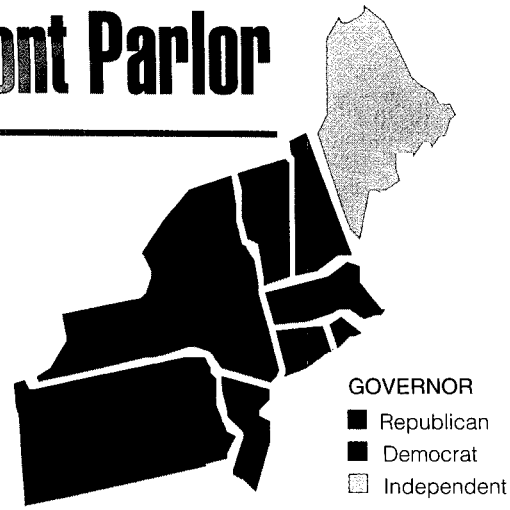
Conservatives in Liberalism's Front Parlor

IS IT REAL? CAN IT LAST? WHAT DO THEY STAND FOR?



New Jersey and the Death of Rockefeller Republicanism

Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr.

Conservatism—individual opportunity and responsibility, lower taxes and less government—is thriving in the once-hard soil of the Northeast. More than the rest of the country, this region enthusiastically embraced the expanded government and welfare statism that flourished in the 1960s. But the times, they are a-changing.

Just look at New Jersey, a moderate state politically, whose governor was raised as a "Rockefeller" Republican. In her 1993 gubernatorial campaign, Christine Whitman promised the most sweeping income-tax cuts of any state chief executive up to that time. The incumbent governor had doubled the state income tax and raised a slew of other levies as well. New Jersey went from economic leader to laggard. After routinely outperforming the national economy between 1950 and 1990, New Jersey was suddenly doing worse than neighboring states such as Pennsylvania and New York, themselves no great shakes economically. Whitman's tax-cut pledge was greeted with skepticism from voters who had three times been jilted on the tax question: the sitting governor had originally promised no tax increases; Clinton had abandoned his middle-class tax cut and boosted federal exactions instead; and George Bush had made the words "read my lips" synonymous with tax betrayal.

Despite harsh criticism and ridicule from Democrats, some Republicans, and almost the entire media, Whitman refused to back off. And in the end she won a narrow victory. Instead of the ritualistic "things are worse than we thought" scenario after her victory, she quickly reaffirmed her pledge. In her inaugural speech, she brushed aside the usual clichés about new horizons, new days, and new dawns, and asked the state legislature to pass the first part of her tax cut and make it retroactive to January 1. The Republican legislature complied. Her popularity soared and has remained high. Taxes were cut again this January, and if her proposed fiscal 1996 budget is enacted, taxes will be slashed even more dramatically.

The New Jersey economy is reviving. The state is once again out-performing Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania. In a few years, as the Whitman reforms are completed, New Jersey will resume its place as one of the premier economic performers of the nation. As the governor impishly noted in her recent state of the state address, one year ago Governor Cuomo was ridiculing her plan; now Cuomo's evictor, Republican George Pataki, is using her plan as a guide for his own tax-cutting program.

Success breeds success. After consulting with Whitman and her economic advisors during his campaign, George Pataki pledged to cut New York's income taxes 25 percent, citing New York's southerly neighbor as proof that such a plan was feasible. Connecticut's new governor, John Rowland, is going even further. In his campaign, he vowed to phase out Connecticut's income levy altogether.

The New Jersey tax-cut model is exerting influence in quarters well beyond the Northeast. After boosting taxes sharply during his first term, California Governor Pete Wilson is now proposing to reduce the state's onerous income taxes.

Carrying through on these promises will be terribly important. The next steps will demonstrate that the proposals are more than campaign gimmicks, and that their sponsors are more than cynical flashes in the pan. It takes a determined leader to curb government and cut taxes. But strong principled executives can succeed—even in the liberal Northeast.

Governor Whitman is about to launch another round of headline-making tax reductions, and to keep the budget in balance she proposes to significantly reduce the number of state workers and squeeze popular state-aid programs for municipalities. What is important is the rhetoric she is employing to justify the changes. We are not, Governor Whitman and comrades are careful to explain, cutting government for the sake of cutting government. We are doing so in order to improve economic opportunities and individual freedoms for our citizens. Money saved in spending cuts doesn't disappear; it goes back to taxpayers.

Our congressional leaders should do the same thing: emphasize that government-shrinking reforms are meant to enhance individual opportunity and help people realize the American Dream. That way conservatives in the Northeast and across the country can retake the high moral ground long occupied by statist liberals.

Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr., is editor-in-chief of Forbes.

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Cuomo Democrats Lose Their Blue Collars

George J. Marlin

While campaigning as a New York City mayoral candidate in the fall of 1993, I received an invitation from Mario Cuomo to come to his World Trade Center office to discuss the issues of the mayoral race. After chatting about our admiration for Holbein's portrait of St. Thomas More and gossiping about mutual friends in our home county of Queens, the governor and I sparred for over an hour on a host of fiscal, economic, and social issues confronting the City of New York.

I enjoyed this session of two fast-talking New Yorkers scoring debating points. We realized we had much in common. We were both products of the streets of the city; he is the son of a grocer and I am the son of a cop. And in our youths we were both instilled with a concept long championed by our church: subsidiarity—the belief that human life unfolds best when decisions are made at the local level, closest to concrete reality.

After touring New York City in the 1920s, British journalist G. K. Chesterton observed:

> New York is a cosmopolitan city, but it is not a city of cosmopolitans. Most of the masses in New York have a nation whether or no it be the nation to which New York belongs.... They are exiles or they are citizens; there is no moment when they are cosmopolitans. But very often the exiles bring with them not only rooted traditions, but rooted truths.

As Mario Cuomo's career advanced, he carried those rooted traditions and truths taught in his parish and ethnic neighborhood. In his published diaries he described those beliefs as a "family kind of politics." Cuomo inquired, "for what indeed does our society need more than a respect for family, the sense of obligation to senior citizens, a shameless bold patriotism, a respect of work; a sense of law and order; a recognition of the overriding importance of education; a gratitude for God's nature and a feeling of responsibility for it?"

Like so many of us who grew up in New York's old blue-collar neighborhoods of South Jamaica, Greenpoint, Bay Ridge, Williamsburg, and Ridgewood, Cuomo was parochial and protective of a turf that was often nothing more than a piece of cement. He defended the prevailing attitude: "This is my neighborhood, my block, my corner, my stoop." It had nothing to do with class warfare or racism; most of the people around the corner were classmates and of the same ethnic origin. We didn't hate these people, we just safeguarded what little we had—a piece of cement sidewalk.

In his races for lieutenant governor, mayor, and in his early campaigns for governor, Cuomo easily carried the ethnic precincts because these blue-collar/middle-class voters viewed him as "one of us." In 1994, however, these same voters turned against him, not because they were tired of incumbents but because Cuomo had lost touch with the truths of the old neighborhood.

In mid-December, delivering his last major speech as governor, Cuomo said that the middle class, which turned against the rich during the Great Depression, had now turned against the poor. And that's where he and so many Democratic Party ideologues have gone wrong. The folks in the neighborhoods aren't waging class warfare against the poor; they're revolting against a big government that, under the guise of "fairness," threatens to deprive them of their hard-won gains.

"Before the 1960s," political analyst Peter Brown has written, "fairness had meant that a person received what his sweat earned him. The family that emerged from Ellis Island to work six-day, 12-hour shifts in sweat shops deserved to move up. It had played by the rules. Just so, the less industrious did not deserve to do so well." Today those who still live by that code are frightened by a fairness that means not equality of opportunity, but equality of results. This fear has been labeled racist, but as Senator Joe Lieberman of Connecticut (a Democrat who was elected by going against the ideological tide of his party) points out, "The average white voter is not racist. The average white voter is protective of what he has.... There is a sense of injustice here that is beautiful. It's more [the middle-class saying], 'You [Democrats] are making a fool of me. What am I, a chump? I'm breaking my back, my wife is too. And you're going to give my money to these people who don't even work and are pulling the wool over your eyes. What are you, fools?' "

Mario Cuomo lost the allegiance of these voters because he discarded the neighborhood vision of subsidiarity. And his successors in the Democratic Party will continue to lose until they stop deluding themselves and realize that class warfare and punishing the middle-class for success no longer works in American politics.

George J. Marlin was the 1993 Conservative Party candidate for Mayor of New York City and has been nominated by Governor Pataki to be executive director of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey.

Voters Throw a Party—Out

John H. Fund

The last time Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey all had Republican governors was in 1954. *I Love Lucy* was the most popular television show, and Tom Dewey was in Albany finishing up his third term. A lot has changed since that heyday of GOP rule in the Northeast, not least the kind of Republicans who've been elected in the region. Today's Republican governors are proud to call themselves the intellectual heirs of Robert Taft, Barry Goldwater, and Ronald Reagan. That was not always the case with Northeastern Republicans.

Forty years ago, Nelson Rockefeller hadn't been elected as New York's chief executive, but Republicans in the region were already "Rockefeller Republicans": ardent internationalists in foreign policy, liberal on civil rights, and aggressively in favor of new social programs and bigger government. Republican Clifford Case was elected U.S. Senator from New Jersey in 1954, and until his primary defeat by Jeff Bell a quarter-century later he voted

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with Senate liberals. In Rhode Island, the only Republican to win major statewide office in the 1960s and '70s was John Chafee, and even he was booted out as governor in 1968 for the sin of raising taxes. He now sits in the U.S. Senate as perhaps the last of the Rockefeller Republicans.

The liberal Republicans and activist Democrats who dominated the Northeast until this year leave behind the same legacy: high taxes and very generous services. New York, for example, spends nearly 50 percent more on Medicaid than does California, even though the Golden State is almost twice as populous. Over time, the region could not sustain such policies. In 1982, New York State was the headquarters of 80 of the nation's Fortune 500 companies. By 1994, that had declined to 43.

So in 1994, Republicans swept the Northeast. Not only did Democrats lose every gubernatorial race in the region save Vermont, but Republicans made unprecedented gains in state legislatures. They captured the state Senate in Connecticut and Maine and won both houses of the Pennsylvania legislature. In Maine, Republicans lost the governorship, but to skinflint Independent Angus King, a former liberal Democrat who moved to the center after he became a businessman.

Meanwhile, Massachusetts re-elected Republican Governor William Weld with an astonishing 71 percent of the vote, rejected a progressive income tax by an even larger margin, and voted to repeal all rent-control laws statewide. Rhode Island elected a tough-talking former U.S. Attorney named Lincoln Almond, who offered tax relief.

Up and down the Atlantic seaboard, GOP candidates for governor staked their campaigns on bold tax-cut proposals and restraints on state government. The November elections resulted in a "tax-cut corridor" stretching from Maine all the way to Virginia. In Maryland, Democrats did beat back the candidacy of Ellen Sauerbrey, who wanted to cut state income tax rates by 24 percent, but by only 5,993 votes. After the election, Democratic winner Parris Glendening announced he had gotten the electorate's message and said he too would cut taxes, albeit by a lesser amount.

Neighboring Pennsylvania elected a moderate Republican congressman named Tom Ridge as its new governor, but he says he was radicalized by the campaign. "Government has to provide value, service, and quality for the tax dollars it gets," Ridge says. "People have decided it's no longer a good buy, and they are on the verge of questioning its legitimacy." Ridge insists his first priorities will be to cut the state's onerous corporate taxes and rein in the state's environmental bureaucracy, which has created "nightmares" for property owners. "They never met a patch of moist land they didn't think was a wetland," he complains. Another top priority will be to pass a statewide school voucher bill.

Other Northeastern governors have expressed interest in vouchers. New York Governor George Pataki's education transition committee recommended he propose a voucher bill because "it doesn't make sense to have people keep buying a product that doesn't work." Governor Christine Todd Whitman endorsed a pilot voucher program in Jersey City in her January 1993 inaugural address, but she let an entire year elapse without introducing a bill in the state legislature then and blocked Mayor Bret Schundler's attempts to set up a prototype in Jersey City. Connecticut's new governor, John Rowland, promised faster action. Although he won largely on the basis of his promise to eliminate the state's new income tax during his four-year term, he also won support from vocal parents' groups who were angry with the state's outcome-based education programs and wanted more local autonomy for schools. In a speech in Greenwich, Governor Rowland pledged to work with the new Republican Senate and Democratic House to pass a bill allowing local vouchers within the first few months of his administration.

■

Two words sum up the reasons for the victory of George Pataki, the first Republican elected governor of New York in 24 years: Cuomo and taxes. By 1994, Mario Cuomo had become a domestic version of Mikhail Gorbachev—the toast of establishment media and political observers outside his bailiwick, and a figure of derision at home. In 1990, Cuomo won only 53 percent of the vote against two pitifully weak opponents who spent almost no money. He conspired with the GOP Senate and the Democratic Assembly to delay scheduled cuts in the state's income tax. Indeed, Cuomo presided over tax increases of more than $1 billion in each of his last six years in office.

When Cuomo foolishly decided to seek a fourth term, the state was ripe for revolt. "The Empire State has become the Vampire State," said Herb London, the GOP candidate for state comptroller. State and local taxes consumed one out of every six dollars of personal income. Between 1984 and 1994, the state lost one million jobs and ranked 47th in the nation in job creation.

Pataki was an obscure Hudson Valley state senator, but he had a simple message: cut the state's income tax rate by 25 percent (which would merely bring it down to the average for Northeastern states). To enhance the benefit to the middle class, he proposed raising the threshold for the state's top personal rate to $50,000 (from $26,000) and increasing the standard deduction to $13,000 (from $9,500).

Pataki won despite the decision of New York City's liberal Republican Mayor Rudolph Giuliani to endorse Governor Cuomo—or maybe because of it given the ferocious backlash in upstate New York. Statewide, Pataki won 49 percent of the vote, Cuomo 45 percent. Above White Plains in Westchester County the Democrat won a pitiful 31 percent, losing such Democratic strongholds as Buffalo and Ithaca. His defeat marked the end of an era of liberal government in New York.

■

While voters in the Northeast clearly want a break from the past, it's still unclear whether there are enough revolutionaries in GOP ranks to break the old molds.

The first signs in New Jersey are not encouraging, even though in 1993 it became the first major industrial state since the '60s to have both a GOP governor

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and three-fifths Republican control in both legislative houses. The GOP legislature has not only balked at a modest school-choice bill, but it also continues to reject calls for term limits and measures that would allow citizens the right of initiative. "The voters seem to be ahead of where some Republican officeholders want to go," says former New Jersey GOP Governor Tom Kean, who warns, "They best be careful, because in these volatile times, voters may brand them part of the problem rather than the solution faster than they can imagine."

John H. Fund is an editorial writer for the Wall Street Journal.

Conservatives Struggle in the Stony Fields of New England

Larry Overlan

While most discontented Americans threw their support behind the Republicans this past election, New Englanders added their own twist to the political mix—third parties.

Rhode Island's new third party is the Cool Moose Party, Connecticut's is A Connecticut Party, and Maine and Vermont feature the Independents and Greens. The Libertarian Party ran candidates in New Hampshire and Massachusetts. On the Left and Right, third parties are sprouting all over New England.

Consider: Maine elected Independent Angus King as governor. Vermont re-elected its only congressman, Bernie Sanders, a socialist who is an Independent. And the newly elected governor of Connecticut, Republican John Rowland, won with only 36 percent of the vote in a four-way contest.

Rowland's win, and another by Lincoln Almond in Rhode Island, brought the tally of New England governor to 4–1 in favor of the Republicans, with one Independent in Maine. In Congress, Republicans did not fare so well. The New England congressional delegation held constant at 14 Democrats and 8 Republicans, and Olympia Snowe's capture of George Mitchell's seat was the only Republican gain in the Senate.

Republican candidates in New England, winners and losers alike, recited a common mantra: lower taxes, crime control, and welfare reform. Governors William Weld of Massachusetts and Steve Merrill of New Hampshire were particularly successful using these themes in their re-election bids, capturing over 70 percent of the vote in their states.

Weld pounded his token liberal Democratic opponent, but he had no coattails. Massachusetts voters also re-elected longtime liberal Senator Ted Kennedy and kept both the state Senate and House firmly under Democratic control. The Republicans picked up only one seat in the state Senate (30 Democrats, 10 Republicans) and none in either the House (124–35–1) or in the congressional delegation (8 Democrats, 2 Republicans). Republican Party registration has been stagnant at 13 percent since Weld's victory in 1990.

Attempts to explain Weld's success amid his fellow Republicans' failures have triggered controversy. Mitt Romney, Kennedy's opponent in 1994, was actually ahead in the polls in early October. The son of former Michigan Governor George Romney, the younger Romney ultimately was trounced 59–41 percent. Some claim he wrote his political obituary during the first debate with Kennedy when he repudiated GOP icon Ronald Reagan: "I don't want to go back to the Reagan-Bush era." Trying to outliberal Kennedy, he quizzed the senator about the "glass ceiling for women in the workplace," a transparent attempt to gain feminist voters.

The polls quickly turned around. One exit poll recorded that 40 percent of conservatives actually voted for Kennedy. The reasoning, apparently, was why vote for a liberal Republican when you can vote for a real liberal?

How does one explain Weld's popularity? A Republican governor in a predominantly Democratic state, a presidential contender already receiving national attention, he is quoted frequently by Newt Gingrich and regularly attends Grateful Dead concerts.

On the social issues, Weld is pro-choice on abortion, has endorsed required gay sensitivity training for all public-school teachers, and is a rabid environmentalist.

He touts himself as the man "who restored fiscal sanity to Massachusetts." Yet he has presided over a 20 percent increase in the state budget in four years (inflation was 12 percent). Indeed, as the state budget has increased a billion dollars a year for the past three years, he has earned the nickname "Billion Dollar Bill." Weld's strong victory was due primarily to the weakness of his opponent, a liberal state representative whom he outspent handily.

How conservative are the other New England Republicans? In New Hampshire, very. Elsewhere, with the exception of a few congressmen like Peter Blute of Maine, New England Republicans are either newly elected and thus unproven, or moderate to liberal.

Let's not forget that all six New England states were won by President Clinton. Independent Ross Perot received between 20 and 30 percent in each state. While there are great opportunities for the GOP in New England, there are also threats. The Republicans should be looking over their shoulders at the third parties, particularly conservative ones. In Massachusetts, which already has a Libertarian Party, a Conservative Party modeled after New York's is being discussed.

Ross Perot may have cost President Bush the election in 1992. A similar defeat may occur in New England if Republicans do not follow through on their election promises of lowering taxes, reducing crime, and achieving meaningful welfare reform. If a Cool Moose Party in Rhode Island can capture 9 percent of the vote, anything can happen.

Larry Overlan, president of the New England Institute for Public Policy, directed Massachusetts Republican Party research the year William Weld first won the statehouse.

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As long as America has existed, there has been a tension between increasing and restricting immigration to the United States. Cultural differences between immigrants and Americans, variations in the skills and wealth of immigrants, and the shifting needs of the American economy have helped to sustain this tension. In 1753 Benjamin Franklin expressed an early version of this mixed reaction in a letter about German immigrants to Pennsylvania:

> "Those who come hither are generally the most stupid of their own nation.... I am not against the admission of Germans in general, for they have their virtues. Their industry and frugality are exemplary. They are excellent husbandmen and contribute greatly to the improvement of a country."

Barry R. Chiswick

Immigration Policy for a

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In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the United States celebrated itself as a land of immigration, as captured in the poetry of Emma Lazarus on the base of the Statue of Liberty welcoming the tired, poor, and huddled masses. Immigrants were filling newly created jobs in America's factories, mills, and mines. Yet at the same time, anti-immigrant sentiment was responsible for restrictive legislation against the "huddled masses"—first against Asians, then in 1917 against the illiterate, and in the 1920s against those of Southern and Eastern European origin through the introduction of the "national-origins"quota system.

In the late twentieth century, tension has again arisen between those who favor more open immigration policies and those who favor tighter restrictions. Depending on

Post-Industrial Economy

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whom you believe, immigrants either "accept jobs that natives will not do" and contribute more to the public purse than they take out, or else "take jobs from natives" and draw more from government services than they pay in taxes.

In the face of all this contradictory clamor for either decreased or increased immigration, the possibility that there is a third choice—neither more nor fewer immigrants, just somewhat *different* ones—seems to have been overlooked. In the midst of critical changes in our economy and culture, Americans ought to be selecting their newcomers, in whatever numbers, much more carefully. The aim might be thought of, in shorthand, as Designer Immigration, and what follows are some suggestions for altering U.S. admission criteria.

In the face of all this contradictory clamor for either decreased or increased immigration, the possibility that there is a third choice—neither more nor less immigrants, just somewhat *different* ones—seems to have been overlooked.

Since the abolition of the "national-origins" quota system in 1965, the cornerstone of American immigration policy has been family reunification. Although the United States is the first country of choice of almost all immigrants, it has chosen not to compete internationally for the best and the brightest. Instead we have withdrawn to the sidelines and let other countries have their pick of the considerable brainpower and physical capital that now flows with great mobility across national boundaries.

There should be little controversy over whether U.S. immigration policy should continue in its two main humanitarian purposes—the reuniting of immediate family members (which accounts for approximately 250,000 of our annual immigrants) and the acceptance of at least some significant numbers of threatened refugees (approximately 125,000 individuals arrive yearly in this way). The main question is whether we should be selecting roughly half-a-million other immigrants each year in the way we currently do—namely, by accepting lots of more distant relatives, and lots of special interest groups, and then choosing only a relatively small number of individuals (about 75,000) on the basis of their occupational skills and gifts. Is this the wisest way for us to sift through the almost unlimited number of individuals who would like to become Americans in order to pick who will staff our economy and fill our neighborhoods?

Canada, Australia, and New Zealand have successfully implemented more meritocratic measures for selecting immigrants using skill-based point systems. We would do well to follow suit. The reality of the twenty-first century is that we will be in sharp competition with other nations in Asia, Europe, and elsewhere. We need a radical reform of our immigration laws to assure we are as well equipped as possible to thrive in the face of this competition, as well as the rapid economic and technological change that will accompany it. Specifically, we need to shift away from today's immigration policy based on nepotism to one that evaluates applicants on the basis of skills.

This would not only increase national productivity and competence; it would also moderate the national distribution of in-

1993 Immigrants by type

Category	Number
Immediate relatives of U.S.citizens	255,059
Secondary relatives	226,776
Refugees	127,343
Employment-based immigrants (EBI)	72,226
Spouses and children of EBI	67,786
Legalized under 1986 amnesty	79,622
Other immigrants	68,480
Total	**904,292**

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Barry R. Chiswick is an adjunct scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and a professor of economics at the University of Illinois at Chicago.

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come. One economic result of today's largely "humanitarian" criteria for immigrant selection is the admission of large numbers of low-skill immigrants. This increases job competition at the bottom of the income ladder of a time when low-skill wages are already being depressed by changes in technology and world trade. Current immigration policy is not causing major dislocations in the American economy, but it is probably having some undesirable marginal effects. And a revised immigration policy could capture many economic bonuses that we currently let slip away.

In 1993, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service issued 904,292 permanent immigrant visas (see Table). Of that total, only 147,012 visas, or 16 percent, were issued under one of several "employment-based" immigration categories—and nearly half of that group were actually for the accompanying spouses and children of principals who were selected specifically because of occupational talents. Moreover, because of the present lack of a methodical way of ranking desirable occupational qualities, significant numbers of the "employment-based" immigrants are less than highly skilled. Only about 45,000 of the 904,000 total immigrants we admitted in 1993 were technical, professional, or managerial workers. We can surely do better than that in choosing immigrants who have top level economic skills to contribute to our country.

In order to make room, though, for more talent-selected immigrants, we'll first have to reduce the current policy emphasis on "family reunification." In the past, immigration often meant severing all close ties with relatives who remained behind, beyond perhaps occasional letters. This could be a gut-wrenching experience, and so provisions were drawn up in American immigration law to make it relatively easy for settled immigrants to bring near and not-so-near relatives into the country. Of course this set in motion a never-ending chain of migrations, with each new group of "family-reconstruction" arrivals soon finding their own set of in-laws or blood relatives to bring in under the privileged category.

Now that falling transportation and communication costs ensure that close contact can be maintained even with relatives who live in other countries, this exaggerated emphasis on family reunification no longer makes sense. Phone calls, letters, packages, videotapes, faxes, and inexpensive visits mean that becoming a U.S. immigrant no longer means losing a family back home. Anyone visiting an international air terminal around the holidays sees these family-visit trips first hand.

Refugee policy also needs to return to its first principles. The United States cannot, alone or in conjunction with others, provide refuge for the millions around the globe who wish to flee war, insurrection, anarchy, famine, or economic deprivation. Offers of temporary asylum in the United States are attractive in principle, but recent experiences suggest that "temporary" immigrants often become permanent ones. Refugee policy was intended to be a selective, individual policy rather than the mechanism for mass migration it has recently become. Refugee admissions should be limited to applicants in immediate jeopardy from undemocratic regimes because of political activity. Merely wanting to leave an undemocratic nation or other dangerous or unpleasant situation should not constitute sufficient grounds for admission.

Although the United States is the first country of choice of almost all immigrants, it has chosen not to compete internationally for the best and the brightest. We need to shift away from today's immigration policy based on nepotism to one that evaluates applicants on the basis of skills.

A revised immigration policy would keep the humanitarian elements of family unification and refugee assistance, but it would also scale them down considerably through sensible limits. Automatic family reunification admissions, for instance, could be reserved solely for spouses, minor children, and, perhaps after 5 years in the United States, aged parents of a U.S. citizen. (Today, far more distant relatives qualify.) The person sponsoring relatives should be held financially responsible for their support. And except for schooling and emergency medical care, the sponsoring party should be liable for a period of time for any public expenditures necessary to support or care for admitted relatives.

Beyond close family members and bona fide refugees, the majority of U.S. immigrants should be selected on the basis of what the

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applicant can contribute to the U.S. economy. This contribution may be in the form of capital for investment in job creation, with a limited number of immigrant visas being auctioned off.

Perhaps the most important part of a revised immigration policy would involve selecting immigrants on the basis of their skills. Based on research on immigrant assimilation, the candidates with the most-needed skills would be young adults, with high levels of schooling or technical training, who are fluent and literate in English.

Beyond close family members and bona fide refugees, the majority of U.S. immigrants should be selected on the basis of what the applicant can contribute to the United States economy. At the end of each year's scoring process, the available entrance slots should be filled simply by accepting, in order, the top scorers off a list.

Immigrants tend to adapt quickly, and there is no need to try to match them with employers prior to immigration. The labor market responds far better than any government agency in determining where immigrants "should" be employed.

The "occupational preferences" in the 1965 Amendments and in the 1990 Immigration Act were based on a "targeted labor" approach that required a specific employer to petition on behalf of a particular alien for an exact job slot. This has not worked well, however, and it has proven vulnerable to industrial manipulation and bureaucratic inflexibility.

A far more appropriate policy would follow the Canadian and Australian skill-based models. There, applicants are evaluated on the basis of their specific training and job qualifications, with points awarded for desirable characteristics in the areas of youth, schooling, apprenticeship or vocational training, technical skills, and language proficiency. Applicants receiving more than a threshold number of points receive a visa for themselves, their spouses, and minor children. It would make sense to give an applicant extra points if one of these family members who are part of the "package deal" also has scoreable traits. It would also make sense to credit some points when there is a successful relative already in the United States who is willing to accept financial responsibility for the new entrant.

At the end of each year's scoring process, the available entrance slots could be filled simply by accepting, in order, the top scorers off the list. A system like this would provide a fair and rational way of selecting unusually high-quality and productive immigrants. It would be neutral with regard to country of origin or race/ethnicity. It doesn't foolishly presume that the government knows where labor market bottlenecks are. And by permitting immigration across a broad range of high-level occupations it is less subject to occupation-specific lobbying efforts by self-interested businesses and labor unions.

U.S. immigration policy badly needs to be reconciled to the changing needs of our economy in the twenty-first century. A skill-based point system that replaces overly broad extensions of our core family-member and refugee standards for selecting immigrants would bring immediate dividends in our productivity, our investment levels, our patterns of innovation, and our educational achievement. In the process, this approach would also mute the public dissatisfaction that has understandably grown up around our current system for selecting new Americans.

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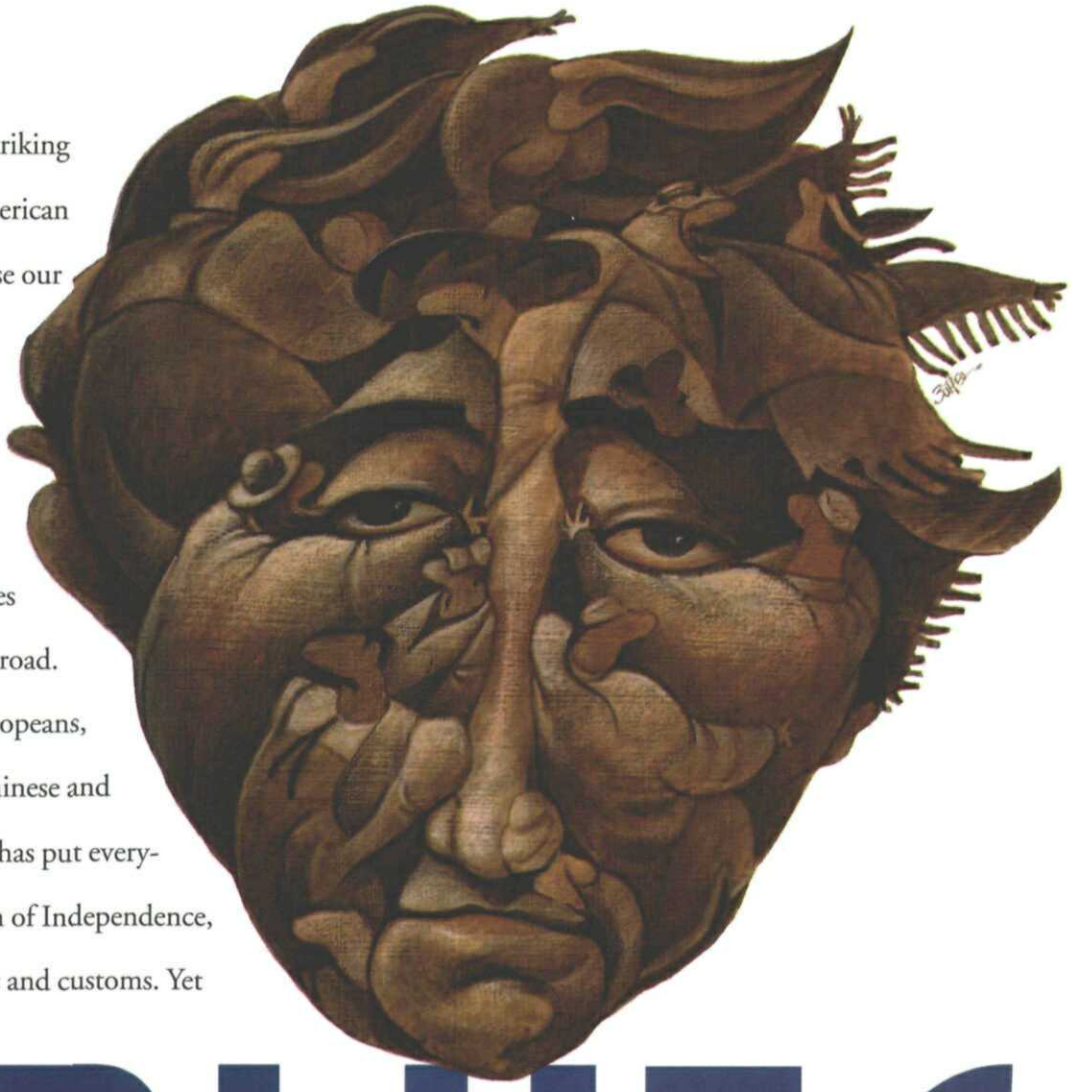
by Stanley Crouch



People who are in some striking way unlike us are an American obsession. That is because our history has demanded that we address and learn from the "other,"—either to enrich this culture's resilience or to wage struggles against adversaries within our borders or threats abroad. Absorbing the influences of Europeans, Indians, Negroes, Mexicans, Chinese and others into our national corpus has put everything to a test—our Declaration of Independence, our Constitution, our local laws and customs. Yet we have succeeded.

THE ONE OUT OF MANY BLUES

Illustration by Ralph Butler

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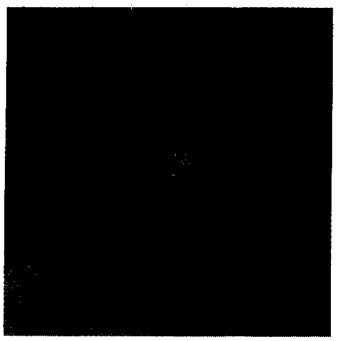

But now this hard and endless feat is threatened. For in our shrill, cloudy contempary era, a polluted and separatist version of pluralism usually referred to as multiculturalism has received our naïve embrace. Our most shining history has often come from a bluesy wrestling with the impulses to, on the one hand, exclude and, on the other hand, adapt the new and strange. Always before we have modestly extended our basic principles, and in the process weathered the storms of putrid xenophobia. Now though, under the guise of "inclusion," we must suffer through a politics of resentment, one based on ethnic and gender franchises instead of the former goal of "a fair chance."

Our politics of resentment has much in common with the adolescent passions of popular culture, where all authority is flawed

OUR MOST SHINING HISTORY HAS OFTEN COME FROM A BLUESY WRESTLING WITH THE IMPULSES TO, ON THE ONE HAND, EXCLUDE AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, ADAPT THE NEW AND STRANGE.

Grand Canyon deep. Like the yowling and stomping of hostile rock music, this political vision makes use of very sophisticated technology to reduce all complexity to the blunt and the simple-minded. Where the rock musician counts on innovations in electronic amplification, the purveyor of bitterness and envy draped in political rhetoric calls upon statistics, historical guilt, and elaborate theory to shift the complex realities of human engagement into a melodrama of good versus evil as inaccurate as the lollipop trees drawn by children.

The politics of resentment is based most deeply on a denial of individual responsibility. The history of groups, or, as the vastly overestimated W. E. B. DuBois would have it, the history of races, is all. In this regard, the politics of resentment that lies directly behind "multiculturalism" is built on the sense of having been had by some larger, external force or "society" generally. If the resentful one is from a racial minority, the culprit is "white racism"; if female, one may blame "political testosterone poisoning." All of these are variations on the child-abuse defense—a dysfunctional family as the root of all wrong. As comedian Dennis Miller recently observed on his cable show, "Thanks to the notion of dysfunction, every zipperhead in this country can tap themselves with a Freudian wand and go from failed frog to misunderstood prince."

This posturing amounts to nothing more than frying the rotten fish of self-pity and blame on a griddle made hot by opportunism and greased with scoops from the bottomless Crisco can of white guilt. It is another manifestation of the ethnic hustles that have become so big since the 1966 arrival of Black Power, that first stinking catch of what became a huge market. We are now accustomed to various groups hypnotized by the tone of their skin, their genitalia, and whatever else, all seeking positions of high honor as victims supposedly lacerated by the sharp blades of the cultural blender, their shouts of psychic agony even louder than the icy hard electronic drone of the machine they claim is liquifying them into faceless Americans. The separatist struggle against absorption is also founded on muddled discomfort with the fact of our crisscrossed Americanness, the reality that the entire nation is a protean composite of everything we find adequate for adaptation. This discomfort is basic to our history, and it demands clarity of thought and courage to discern the difference between enriching charisma and reductive contamination. Therein lies the difference between vitality and decay.

The most provincial among us always warn against contamination by others. The so-called whites have spoken of the mongrelization that comes of race mixing. We have long been given images of "mission Indians" who have lost contact with their own people and exist in some nether region of identity crisis between the white world that won't completely accept them and the red world they cannot understand or feel comfortable in. There are many terms for the "Oreo," the Negro who is black on the outside but "white" on the inside. Years ago, when Mexican-American nationalism imitated Black Power, the term was "coconut": brown without and pale within. We even hear of the woman who thinks or acts or votes "like a man." These are all dreams of an authenticity so at odds with our real history that we should understand it for the paranoid discomfort it truly is.

Writer Stanley Crouch is the author of Notes of a Hanging Judge, *and the forthcoming* All-American Skin Game.

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Beyond xenophobic discomfort is the historic fascination with things different and things foreign. At first we were entranced by the Indian who was here when the rest of us arrived. Constance Rourke points out that the author of *Ponteach*, the very first American play on an indigenous subject, written the same year as our Declaration of Independence, was a frontiersman and "merciless destroyer of Indians" named Robert Rogers who set down "episodes from his own ruthless career" with a bitter self-satire. Uncomfortable with his destructive victories, and equally disturbed by his familiarity with Indian butchery of white men, the playwright finally makes Ponteach, the Indian chief, his hero. "The Indians had somehow imposed their own view on this first imaginative embodiment of the two races," Rourke notes. "The noble savage emerged; and strangely enough this concept fitted a body of philosophical thought emerging in Europe...as to the damaging effects of civilization."

So perhaps in Robert Rogers we have the beginning of something that looms large in our consciousness—the non-white functioning as an aspect of social morality. We might also consider this work the beginning of a tradition central to the ways in which Americans have criticized themselves. *Ponteach* attempts to represent a purity beyond the reach of the westward settlement then dismantling existing natural and traditional orders.

The professors of ethnic studies and the professionals working for segregated minority cultures are all sons and daughters, then, of Robert Rogers, repentant Indian-slayer. Whenever we invoke dastardly "white male power" and hail the importance of separatist franchises we are reaching for a version of Rousseau's romantic and remarkably inadequate mantle of nobility. Modern exponents draw a line through the word "savage" but otherwise appropriate the logic. This hand-me-down protest is but another example of how material and ideas and styles are democratized in our country, sometimes for the better, sometimes not.

Soon after the Indian, we were taken by the woodsman, because in certain fundamental ways the men in buckskin were our first full-fledged cultural mulattos. In his ways and in his being, the frontiersman was a hybrid of white and Indian existence. He combined the light of European-derived information and the wild black of America's ancestral night, where history had no forward motion, no written language. The closest thing to crystal in the woodsman's world was the thin, frozen surface of a lake at the beginning of winter. While his rifle, powder, and round lead bullet connected him inextricably to the Western technology that would determine the future of the country, his hair was worn Indian style, his ear was dog-tuned to the inaudible music rising from the deep, and his knowledge of the land, the native tribes, and the ways of the birds and the beasts was imitative of, and often directly derived from, America's aboriginal peoples. The high mixture of technology and reason with traditional blood and lore made the pioneer American a white man unlike any the other side of the Atlantic had ever produced. Those who would thrive on this continent would have to draw experimentally upon more than what they brought with them from Europe. They would mix in their consciousness and sometimes in their blood the richest national resources available.

THE FRONTIERSMEN IN BUCKSKIN WERE OUR FIRST CULTURAL MULATTOS, A HYBRID OF WHITE AND INDIAN EXISTENCE. THE HIGH MIXTURE OF TECHNOLOGY AND REASON WITH TRADITIONAL LORE MADE THE PIONEER AMERICAN A WHITE MAN UNLIKE ANY THE OTHER SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC HAD EVER PRODUCED. THOSE WHO THRIVED ON THIS CONTINENT HAD TO DRAW UPON MORE THAN WHAT THEY BROUGHT WITH THEM FROM EUROPE.

These improvisational mixtures made popular the minstrel show, the dime-novel western, the Buffalo Bill circuses of cowboys, left-over Indian chiefs, sharpshooters, and rodeo clown, the interest in the "heathen Chinee," Nanook of the North, various hillbilly doings, the Southwestern lore of Texas and Mexico, the underworld of gangsters, the yackety-yak of Jewish humor, and much else that made its way up the invisible cultural gully separating convention from the swamp water of superstition and odd custom. We all know how much American music, comedy, and dance were influenced by the minstrel show, where even the

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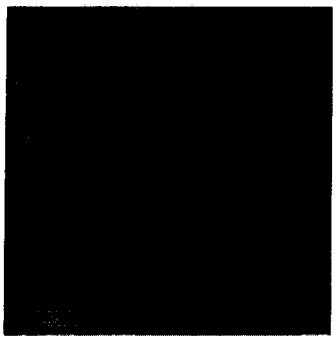

imagery of insult had a vitality that addicted Americans to the dark people from the other side of the tracks. If we understand that, we can recognize Fred Astaire as an Afro-American dancer, an artist as much a mulatto as the frontiersman, one whose combination of styles and information springs him beyond any sort of ethnic "purity."

Didn't Carl Jung observe that white Americans walked, talked, and laughed like Negroes, and don't Africans tend to think of black Americans as dark-skinned whites? Isn't it obvious to outsiders how much we have made each other what we are? D. W. Griffith's *Broken Blossoms* (1919) makes a tragic hero of the Chinese lover of a white woman, a miscegenation theme we might not expect from the director of the 1915 film *Birth of a Nation.* But perhaps we should, if only because Griffith was an American of genius and one perhaps so repulsed by what his racist Reconstruction fable had wrought that he lost his shirt making 1916's *Intolerance,* the four-themed cinematic fugue that prefigured subsequent improvisations on the overt and covert meanings of miscegenation. In the films of John Ford we also see an evolution of the images of Indians and Negroes that moves them further and further away from tools of comic relief or dread until they at last reach a tragic complexity. In Ford's *The Last Hurrah* (1958), we get a lament for the old Hollywood, plus a gloomily comic acknowledgment that traditional political machines of flesh and blood will be replaced by the real machines of the media, plus, to add another row of shark's teeth to Ford's cinematic saw, a drama of symbolic racial integration in which the dependents of the lower-class Irish and the upper-class British talk of their children going to the same schools and "intermarrying."

WE ARE NOW ACCUSTOMED TO VARIOUS GROUPS HYPNOTIZED BY THE TONE OF THEIR SKIN, THEIR GENITALIA, AND WHATEVER ELSE, ALL SEEKING POSITIONS OF HIGH HONOR AS VICTIMS SUPPOSEDLY LACERATED BY THE SHARP BLADES OF THE CULTURAL BLENDER, THEIR SHOUTS OF PSYCHIC AGONY EVEN LOUDER THAN THE ICY HARD ELECTRONIC DRONE OF THE MACHINE THEY CLAIM IS LIQUIFYING THEM INTO FACELESS AMERICANS.

This development of heroic figures within even the stereotyped works of Hollywood proves that American life is far from the closed book of atrocities our country's most stern critics seem to imagine. In one instance after another we have seen our legendary dream machine shift its sympathies and elevate the downtrodden and the excluded. Minorities and women continue to move into fresher areas of characterization, functioning so often in narrative positions of complexity and authority that people new to America are convinced that the country is truly a multiracial enterprise in which the sexes stride closer and closer to equality. In our real world, many black mayors and women executives and minority experts, advisors, and intellectuals make obvious the inspiration.

Even the sex symbol and matinee idol has gone far beyond an enclosed idea of refined looks to include individuals like Woody Allen, Spike Lee, Barbara Streisand, Madonna, and Whoopi Goldberg, none of whom has traditional good looks but each of whom has somehow hooked into the national appetite for charisma. A poll taken 10 years ago revealed that most Americans, if they couldn't have their actual father, would choose Bill Cosby! In a more recent poll, American teenagers said that the woman they respected most after their mothers was Oprah Winfrey, and the man Denzel Washington. Whether these figures represent high quality or mediocrity or trash, they are all aspects of unexpected democratic evolution.

Of course, the kind of imbecilic Balkanization that was put in motion by the celebrated numbskull Malcolm X and progeny has also been received surprisingly broadly. But it shouldn't be, because it threatens to undermine the moral basis of our central social contract. When we become obsessed with race we forget that in Europe and many other places class was like race is today. One must remember just how young the idea of equality even among whites is in the world.

What the American and French revolutions did was boot the idea of royal blood from the Western lexicon. Definition by blood, that fenced-in idea of aristocracy, was a way of mak-

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ing class a form of race. The royal considered themselves a genus separate from the poor. This freed them from identifying with human tragedy beyond the palace or the estate. Part of the brutality that came after the fall of Louis XVI was the bitter result of the hatred George Bernard Shaw described as the anger felt by those once awed and intimidated. It is a kind of anger we have foolishly revived in these United States over the last 30 years. We have encouraged each other to put on the mask of the martyr, or the martyr's descendent.

In some fundamental way, racism has been a form of protest against the implicit depths of democracy—the central idea of which is that greatness can come from anywhere, that virtue knows no innate limitations, that genius and courage arrive where they will, that every group or class is as vulnerable to the shortcomings of the human species as any other.

The ethnic or sexual separatist, like the racist, wants to reassert a monarchy of blood. He or she wants to draw a line in the dirt, hide from the grandeur and pressure of democracy, and avoid the tragic knowledge of human frailty. At the bottom of too many of the multiculturalist's complaints is a feeling of being overmatched by the sophisticated demands of this wide open society.

This is a strategy destined to fail. It is now enjoying its moment at the microphone, so we must watch one distinction of nut after another fill the airwaves with complaint, each dressed in a more outrageous get-up designed to express hostility or warlike readiness to the television audience. But these new-moon yahoos will mean nothing in the long run. Just why has already been laid down by by our best writers, musicians, and filmmakers, by people like Constance Rourke, John A. Kouwenhoven, Ralph Ellison, and Albert Murray.

Here is the reality, straight, no chaser: The American is an incontestable mix of blood, style, and tradition. Part Yankee, part frontiersman, part Indian, part Negro, part Hispanic, part Asian, part Christian, part Jew. We hear this in our talk, we see it in the way we walk and the ways in which we laugh, the gestures we use, the facial expressions we pass over ethnic fences, the foods we eat, and even the dreams we have. We will continue to reinterpret our interrelationships, regularly stretching the heroic into the angelic and turning the vile into the demonic. Yet we will continue to respond to each other's stylization of sensibility. Some narrative will come our way that allows us to be lyrically touched to the quick by an individual superficially unlike us. We will continue to reinvent our diets and make spiritual searches. We are hopeless experimenters and improvisers, just as we are hopeless suckers who are never given an even break by those who wish to manipulate us through our curiosity and our willingness to engage in that good old American self-criticism.

Not for very long will we be able to accept the visions of the separatists, however, because our history, public and private, has proven to us over and over that we were made for each other. We will sometimes be knocked down to one knee. But we are too shot through with shared personal and historical resonances to separate. We are now and forever Americans, which means that we are in some very specific ways parts of all other peoples. Our culture and our bloodlines are cosmopolitan. No matter how hard we might try, we can't have it any other way.

THE ETHNIC OR SEXUAL SEPARATIST HIDES FROM THE GRANDEUR AND PRESSURE OF DEMOCRACY AND AVOIDS THE TRAGIC KNOWLEDGE OF HUMAN FRAILTY. AT THE BOTTOM OF TOO MANY OF THE MULTICULTURALIST'S COMPLAINTS IS A FEELING OF BEING OVERMATCHED BY THE SOPHISTICATED DEMANDS OF THIS WIDE OPEN SOCIETY.

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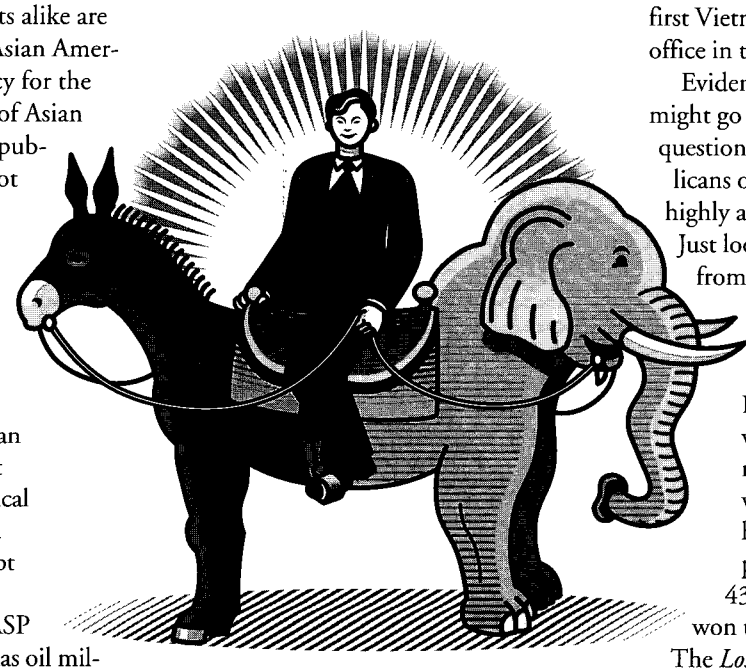
Asian Americans Head for Politics

What Horse Will They Ride?

by John J. Miller

In 1940, roughly 255,000 Asian Americans lived in the United States. Now, about 8 million do. If current immigration trends continue, Asians could make up 10 percent of the U.S. population in the next century. They already account for 1 out of every 10 people in California and will probably outnumber blacks nationally by the year 2020. What political course they eventually follow will have a crucial impact on the rest of the country.

Republicans and Democrats alike are battling to win Asians over. "Asian Americans are a natural constituency for the GOP," says Dennis See, head of Asian American outreach for the Republican National Committee. Not so fast, replies a spokesman at Democratic National Headquarters. "We appeal to the Asian American families that are struggling to capture the American dream," said Patrick Dorton.



Politicians used to go to Asian Americans for their money, not their votes. Asians give to political campaigns at a higher rate than any racial or ethnic group except Jews. President Bush's biggest fundraiser in 1992 wasn't a WASP from New Haven or even a Texas oil millionaire. He was Zachariah Zachariah, an Indian-born doctor living in Florida, who brought in nearly $2 million from Asian Americans. That same year, Bill Clinton raked in $200,000 at a fundraiser in "the first suburban Chinatown" of Monterey Park, California. "Asians can provide a strong financial backing," said Tony Chen, a former GOP operative who now heads the U.S.-China Chamber of Commerce.

Traditionally, Asians have shied away from playing politics the old-fashioned way: by voting and running for office. Turnout among Asians is dismally low, even after accounting for citizenship, income, and education. UCLA's Don Nakanishi reports that Asian American voter registration rates are roughly 20 points below those of blacks and whites, even among the relatively affluent and largely non-immigrant Japanese American population, and in politics, demographics isn't destiny, turnout is. Only three Asians from the continental United States now sit in Congress. Three more hail from Hawaii, where 60 percent of Hawaiians are of Asian ancestry.

Some of this may soon change. Although turnout remains low, many Asians are becoming candidates. Every election cycle now seems to bring its share of Asian American firsts. Last November, Ben Cayetano of Hawaii (D) became the first Filipino to win election as governor. Two years earlier, Jay Kim (R–Calif.) became the first Korean American member of Congress, and Nao Takasugi (R) became the first Asian American since 1976 to enter California's legislature. "We're also starting to see their emergence on the local level," reports Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Stanley Karnow, who is writing a book on Asian Americans. "Many Asians are running for school boards and similar offices." By winning a seat on the Westminster, California city council, Republican Tony Lam recently became the first Vietnamese refugee to win elective office in the United States.

Evidence as to where most Asians might go politically—even on a simple question like whether they prefer Republicans or Democrats—is very sketchy, highly anecdotal, and often unreliable. Just look at the 1994 election results from California. In the governor's race between incumbent Republican Pete Wilson and Democratic challenger Kathleen Brown, the Voter News Service, which supplies exit polling information to the four television networks, the Associated Press, and hundreds of newspapers, reported that Asians voted 56 to 43 in favor of Gov. Wilson, who won the race by a 55 to 40 margin. The *Los Angeles Times*, however, conducted its own exit poll and claimed that Asians cast their ballots for Brown, 50 to 46. The two surveys agreed on only one point: Asians made up 4 percent of the California electorate.

A similar discrepancy arose in the Senate race, which saw the incumbent Democrat Dianne Feinstein defeat Republican Michael Huffington 47 to 45. The Voter News Service numbers again showed that Asians favored the Republican candidate, 47 to 46. But the *Los Angeles Times* found Asians preferring Feinstein 52 to 40.

Why did the two exit polls differ so dramatically? Not even the experts know for sure. "That's their poll and this is ours," said Rob Cioe, a researcher with the *Los Angeles Times*. "We're both dealing with a small sample size and a big margin of error."

All of this confusion may make its own important point, however: It's very difficult to determine Asian American voting

Illustration by Peter Hoey

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behavior. For starters, there's really no such thing as a pan-ethnic "Asian American" identity. Chinese, Filipinos, Indians, Japanese, Koreans, Vietnamese, and others share no common tongue, faith, or history. Even though the federal government and many Americans lump them together, many Asians don't feel a sense of kinship with other Asians. They are more likely to marry whites than another Asian of a different ethnicity, for example.

Among the various Asians, Japanese Americans have reached rough parity with non-Hispanic whites on a host of economic and social indicators. Southeast Asians, however, are largely a refugee population and, although they show some signs of upward mobility, look on paper much more like a traditional minority group. Key differences exist even within ethnic groups. East Coast Filipinos are a socioeconomic elite; on the West Coast, they more closely mirror Hispanics. The reverse is true for Chinese.

Some data on the political preferences of Asian ethnic groups do exist. A *Los Angeles Times* poll taken last year, for example, found that about two-thirds of Vietnamese Americans registered to vote in Southern California consider themselves Republican. That comes as no surprise, since virtually all of them fled from a communist regime and quickly identified with the GOP's Cold War philosophy. But President Clinton may have given the Democrats a boost last year by moving toward normalized relations with the Vietnamese government, which Republicans have traditionally opposed. Most Vietnamese Americans support trade liberalization with their homeland, even though the issue remains highly divisive among them.

Koreans are considered a fairly Republican group. Chinese and Taiwanese also appear to lean in the GOP's direction (as with the Vietnamese, much of this springs from anti-communism). Japanese Americans, however, are overwhelmingly Democratic and most Filipinos probably are as well. Indians may tilt to the left too—six ran as Democrats in congressional primaries last year. (Only one won: Peter Mathews of California. He then lost the general election to Rep. Steve Horn by more than 20 points.) "Asian Americans show tremendous diversity in terms of party preference, much more than other minority groups," said UCLA's Nakanishi, who adds that they also are much more likely than other groups to register as independents.

John J. Miller is vice president of the Center for Equal Opportunity in Washington, D.C.

ASIANS ALREADY ACCOUNT FOR 1 OUT OF EVERY 10 PEOPLE IN CALIFORNIA AND WILL PROBABLY OUTNUMBER BLACKS NATIONALLY BY THE YEAR 2020. WHAT POLITICAL COURSE THEY EVENTUALLY FOLLOW WILL HAVE A CRUCIAL IMPACT ON THE REST OF THE COUNTRY.

Exit polls before 1994 have shown a clear tendency among Asian Americans as a group to favor Republican candidates. The California governor's race in 1990 had them voting 58 to 42 for Pete Wilson, who won in a squeaker. On the national level, the Voter News Service showed Asians supporting President Bush in 1992 by 55 percent to 29 percent for Bill Clinton and 16 percent for Ross Perot. Among the general population, Clinton earned 43 percent of the vote, compared to 38 for Bush and 19 for Perot. Only white Christian evangelicals and self-identified Republicans had a higher rate of support for Bush. Asian American voters in California gave Clinton 45 percent of their support, compared to 40 percent for Bush and 15 percent for Perot, according to the *Los Angeles Times*. But Asian GOP support still outpaced levels in California's general population, which gave Bush less than one-third of its vote. Back in 1988, Bush took 54 percent of the Asian vote nationwide to Michael Dukakis's 44 percent. In 1984, Ronald Reagan may have beaten Walter Mondale by a 70 to 30 margin among Asians. Perhaps the Republican National Committee knew what it was doing when it opened a special Asian American Affairs Office in 1989 (besting the Democrats by a year).

Internal Republican polling data show that most GOP support among Asians comes from the immigrant generation, with U.S.-born Asians remaining politically independent. A similar finding appears in a 1984 study by University of California researchers Bruce E. Cain, D. Roderick Kiewiet, and Carole J. Uhlaner. Their survey showed that 42 percent of foreign-born Asians identified with the GOP, compared to 32 percent with the Democrats. Yet among Asians born in the United States, 43 percent considered themselves Democrats and 37 percent Republicans. The survey also asked for opinions on specific political issues, and the foreign-born Asians were much more supportive of increased defense spending and gun control than other racial or ethnic groups. Asians born in the United States had political opinions very close to those of non-Hispanic whites.

The generation gap is critical. Nearly two-thirds of all Asian Americans are foreign-born, according to the 1990 Census. The children of these immigrants won't necessarily mimic their parents' political behavior. "There's no telling where the younger American-born Asians will go, and they will be a big part of the population before too long," said Paul Shie, a political scientist at Southeastern University and a Republican consultant. "The older generation lived through the civil rights movement during the 1960s, so they were pulled toward civil rights advocates in the Democratic Party," he says. Younger U.S.-born Asians won't share that experience.

The next generation of Asian Americans may not share any kind of ethnic political experience at all. Although immigrant enclaves like Manhattan's Chinatown, Los Angeles's Koreatown, and Orange County's Little Saigon still exist, most of the Asian population is highly dispersed. Ten percent of Californians are Asian, but the state has no Asian-major-

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ity voting district—even on the state assembly level. It's very expensive to run an ethnically based campaign when the ethnic group in question is not confined to a certain area. Asians who run for a local political office can draw support nationally for their cause—Los Angeles mayoral candidate Mike Woo raised lots of money in 1993 from Asians outside of California, especially in New York. But that doesn't necessarily translate into local success. Roughly one-third of the Asian voters in Woo's election bolted to the winner, Richard Riordan. By way of contrast, former Los Angeles mayor Tom Bradley used to have a virtual lock on the city's black vote.

The most successful Asian American politicians—Rep. Jay Kim, Rep. Robert Matsui, and Rep. Norman Mineta—don't come out of ethnic political backgrounds. Kim got his start on the Diamond Bar City Council and then became mayor. Matsui served seven years on the Sacramento City Council. Mineta was the mayor of San Jose. None represents a district with more than 15 percent Asian residents, so their careers are built on the support of non-Asians.

The only sure thing about Asian American political behavior is that it will continue to confound the way Americans think of ethnic politics. Here are a few possibilities for the future, in no particular order:

• The Declining Significance of Race: Harvard sociologist David Riesman once noted that when a daughter comes home from college with her Japanese American boyfriend who is majoring in physics, her parents see the physicist rather than the Asian. Something similar could be said for voters. Asians will probably continue to make inroads locally and nationally—their growing numbers dictate that—and they will do so without relying on a grassroots ethnic base, unlike most black and Hispanic politicians. Ethnic mobilization will succeed only on a limited and local scale. Asians will run on issues, rather than group solidarity. Keep an eye on California treasurer Matt Fong, a rising star in the Republican party. Also look for a new batch of Indian Americans running for Congress as Democrats in 1996.

Chinese, Filipinos, Indians, Japanese, Koreans, Vietnamese, and others share no common tongue, faith, or history. Even though the federal government and many Americans lump them together, many Asians don't feel a sense of kinship with other Asians.

• Whiteout: Asian Americans will increasingly be seen as indistinguishable from whites. The 1990 Census shows them defying most of the stereotypes surrounding ethnic minorities: they are on par with or outperforming non-Hispanic whites on important indicators like income, education, and married-couple households. When the National Conference of Christians and Jews last year asked different racial and ethnic groups with which other group they felt most in common, Asian Americans picked whites. (The other groups formed a triangle: Whites picked blacks, blacks picked Hispanics, and Hispanics picked whites.) High rates of Asian-white intermarriage will also knock down the walls of race. One political figure to watch is Wendy Lee Gramm, the Korean American wife of GOP presidential hopeful Sen. Phil Gramm. Like her husband, she's a former economics professor. She also headed the U.S. Commodity Futures Trading Commission. She could become a right-wing version of Hillary Rodham Clinton.

• Trophies: Asian Americans could turn into the Jews of the twenty-first century, completing their transformation from immigrant pariahs to, in the words of Louis Winnick, "America's trophy population." If they continue their level of political giving, they will, like Jews, have an influence on elections that far outweighs their actual numbers. Republican Ron K. Unz has suggested that "Asians are similar to Jewish voters, but without the liberal guilt." If Republicans are able to pocket a good share of Asian support right now, they may never stop thanking themselves later.

• Civil Wrongs: Whatever happens, some Republicans are at least discussing among themselves how to win the Asian vote in the coming years. It's a discussion that Democrats don't seem to be having—except with stale fall-back positions on multiculturalism and group rights. A handful of left-leaning Asian American advocacy outfits operate in Washington, most of them scrambling to make sure Asians are designated as a "disadvantaged" minority in need of federal protection. Eager to mimic the civil rights strategy pursued by blacks and Hispanics, these activists seem blind to the fact that affirmative action actually hurts Asians, especially in college admissions. If the Democrats walk too far down this dead-end path, they may fall further behind in the race to win Asian votes.

• Up for Grabs: Perhaps Asian Americans will assimilate rapidly and completely through economic mobility and intermarriage. Talking about the Filipino vote in the next century may be like talking about the Hungarian vote today: there's really not much to say. But as long as Asian immigrants keep coming—and only a change in admissions laws will stop them—there will be reason to try to figure out how Asian Americans vote and what it means.

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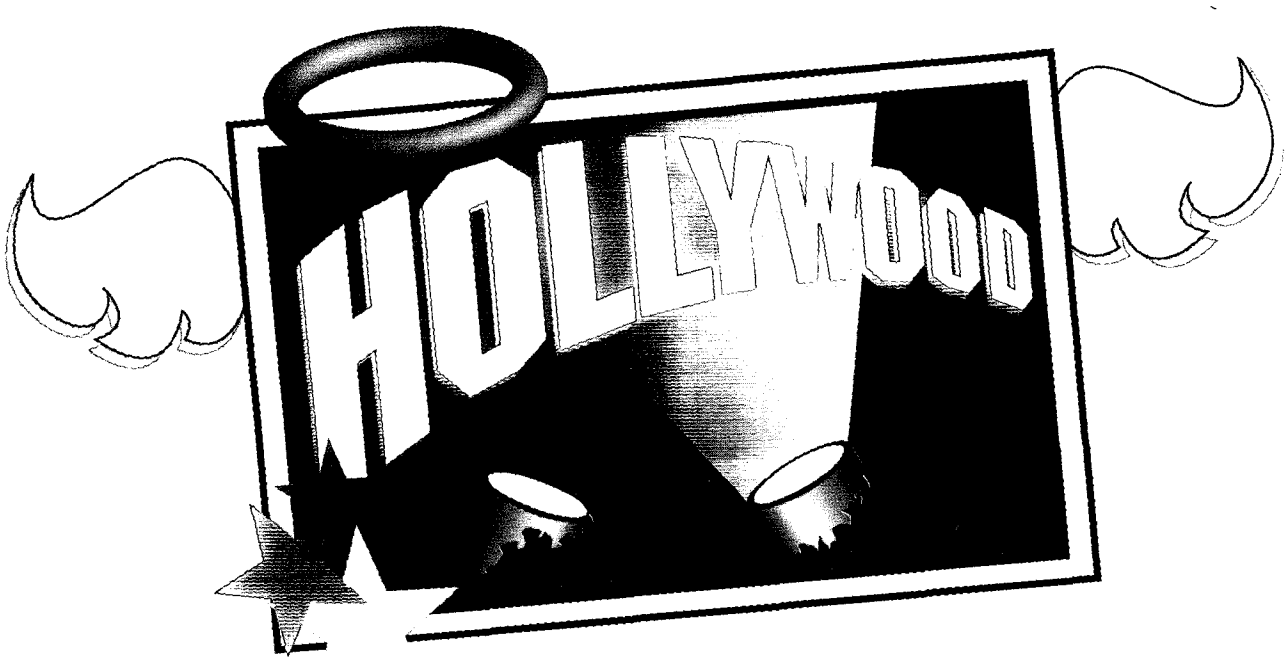

Makes Room for *Religion*

by Michael Medved

Hollywood is currently being swept by an "alternative lifestyle" once rare and exotic in these precincts, and echoes are beginning to be heard across our culture. "Ho hum," you're probably thinking. "Tell me something new." ☆ But wait. This embryonic new movement is truly unprecedented in Tinseltown. It has the potential to spark important changes in American society. And the story hasn't yet been reported by any of the major media.

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You see, the startling new perspective now unexpectedly establishing a foothold within the heart of America's entertainment industry is nothing less than this: rediscovery of serious, traditional Christianity and Judaism.

While it would be somewhat premature to declare Hollywood a fortress of spiritual strength, or a vibrant new center for old time religion, the recent changes in the show business community are both striking and significant. Those who adhere to mainstream Western religions no longer function as a persecuted minority in the entertainment industry, while fervently faithful Christians and Jews have assumed new positions of prominence.

Consider, for a moment, some of the elements that the most popular movie release of 1994 (*The Lion King*) shares with the year's top-rated TV series (*Home Improvement*). Both these phenomenally successful projects appeal to broad family audiences and try to affirm wholesome values of responsibility, integrity, and respect. Both projects originated, appropriately enough, at divisions of the Walt Disney Company.

And both happen to be produced by outspoken and deeply committed evangelical Christians.

Don Hahn, producer of *The Lion King* as well as the similarly beloved *Beauty and the Beast,* is a lifelong churchgoer who addressed the 1992 convention of the National Religious Broadcasters and spoke movingly about the impact of Christ and faith on his life and work.

David McFadzean, executive producer and co-creator of *Home Improvement, Thunder Alley,* and other hugely profitable TV ventures, is deeply involved in the life of his neighborhood church and the larger religious community. Before making his way to the cutthroat world of big-time television, he and his partners worked together in "The Lamb's Players," a theatrical troupe of born-again Christians dedicated to using their creative gifts for spreading God's word.

Michael Medved is co-host of the PBS television show Sneak Previews *and chief film critic for the* New York Post.

While it would be premature to declare Hollywood a fortress of spiritual strength, the recent changes in the show business community are striking.

Hahn and McFadzean may be the most visible of the new breed of religious believers in Tinseltown, but they by no means stand alone. Scores of other writers, producers, directors, executives, and stars are currently trying to keep the faith in the traditionally inhospitable world of Hollywood—including Barry Weiss and David Steinberg, co-producers of *The Pagemaster,* the holiday season family movie from 20th Century Fox that combined animation, live action, and the acting talents of Macaulay Culkin and Christopher Lloyd. Weiss and Steinberg, a pair of Orthodox Jewish kids from the same neighborhood in Chicago, ran their movie as the first *shomer shabbos* (Sabbath observant) production in Hollywood history: permitting no work between sundown on Friday and full-dark on Saturday night.

There are others:

• Ken Wales, the former Disney studio vice president and producer of *Islands in the Stream* and other feature films, is a tirelessly idealistic "PK" ("preacher's kid") whose single-minded dedication finally paid off in his long struggle to dramatize the cherished Christian novel *Christy.* The resulting TV series, which debuted in 1994 and is set to return this year, recreates the struggles of a dedicated missionary teacher working in the remote reaches of Appalachia at the turn of the century. With its emphasis on courage, faith, and the power of prayer and decency, *Christy* has drawn more supportive mail than any series in the history of CBS.

• Steve Spira, the universally popular head of business affairs for Warner Brothers, is a strictly observant Jew who happens to be the first major Hollywood executive to wear a *yarmulke* (skullcap) every day at work.

• Martha Williamson, executive producer and writer of the returning CBS show *Touched By An Angel,* is a passionate Christian with a background working for Carol Burnett and Joan Rivers. Her new series dramatizes the adventures of a beautiful angel who comes to earth every week to comfort or inspire various characters in moments of crisis.

• Coleman Luck, co-creator and producer of *Quantum Leap, Gabriel's Fire,* and other television shows, is also one of the leaders of Inter-Mission, an organization of more than 1,700 entertainment industry professionals who, according to the group's mission statement, share "a love of Jesus Christ, a passion for excellence, and a desire to effect moral change on popular culture."

Many of these people have worked in the industry for years, struggling to maintain the difficult balance between career and faith. They universally report that the most important recent changes in the nature of that struggle involve a new ability to discuss religious commitment with their non-religious colleagues without feeling embarrassment or discomfort. The small community of believers in the entertainment industry has developed a center of gravity: those who are active in church or synagogue life are now too numerous, and too successful, to be trivialized or marginalized.

An acclaimed and undeniably flourishing professional like David McFadzean can wield an industry-wide impact through the force of his example. For one thing, a few respected role models who manage to combine religious faith and Hollywood success can inspire many oth-

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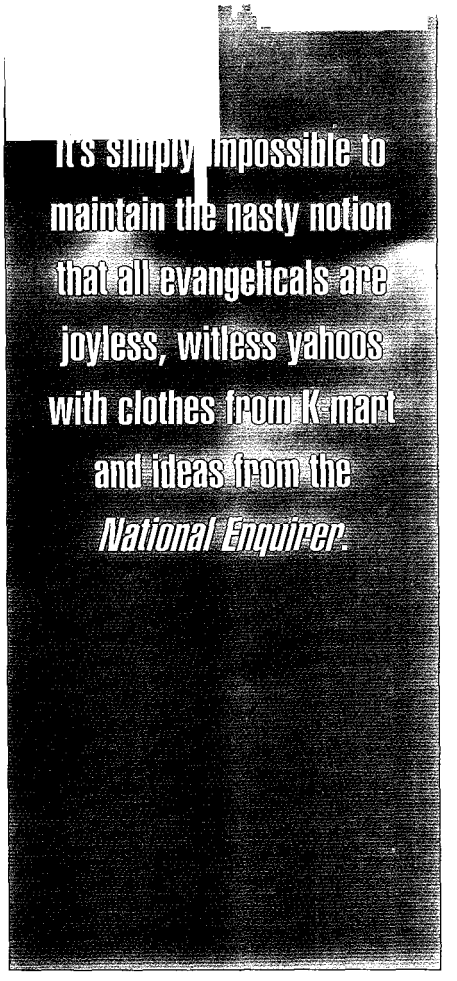
ers with religious inclinations to "come out of the closet"—while leading still others to consider religious ideas and practices more seriously and sympathetically. If the committed Jews and Christians who are now taking their place among the entertainment establishment achieve nothing else, they have succeeded in helping to destroy some of the tired old industry stereotypes about what it means to be religious. For all those who cross paths with an unfailingly genial, urbane, and sophisticated Christian artist like Ken Wales, it's simply impossible to maintain the nasty notion that all evangelicals are joyless, witless yahoos with clothes from K-mart and ideas from the *National Enquirer.*



In fact, by changing the image of religious commitment within the industry, Hollywood's more fervent believers are helping to bring about a quiet revolution in the way that movies and TV present spiritual themes and personalities on screen.

Nearly everyone who monitors the industry's treatment of organized faith has taken note of the recent change. Last year, for instance, Monsignor Francis Maniscalco, a spokesman for the National Council of Catholic Bishops, flatly stated that "religion is being treated more seriously in today's TV." He went on to express gratitude for the networks' new tendency toward "showing religion as influential in people's lives." Meanwhile, the Media Research Center, a scientifically grounded television monitoring service in Alexandria, Virginia, released the results of a comprehensive study of all prime-time shows broadcast on the four major networks during 1993. Their report, "Faith in a Box: Religion on Prime Time TV," issued in March 1994, concluded: "When it comes to prime time and religion, matters are more balanced than they were a few years ago."

Despite the continued presence of many gratuitous religious insults on sitcoms, or highly negative characterizations of clergy in prime-time dramas and TV movies, television offered more countervailing positive portrayals than it had at any time in recent years. For instance, on the final season of NBC's *L.A. Law,* the show's prestigious law firm welcomed a bright, idealistic, and drop-dead gorgeous attorney (Alexandra Powers) who also happened to be primetime's first born-again Christian character. Over at ABC, even the *Roseanne* show introduced a story line in which one of the main character's children began attending church regularly—and appeared to be a better person because of it.

The situation in feature films is similar. Hollywood's relentless religion-bashing of the last 15 years (which I have documented at length in several articles and my 1992 book *Hollywood vs. America*) has become more understated and infrequent. While a few recent films recycled the old, one-sided anti-religious stereotypes (like the murderous Christian prison warden in the absurdly over-rated *The Shawshank Redemption),* many other movies offered surprisingly affectionate and respectful treatments of organized faith. In 1993, the Oscar-nominated *Shadowlands* told the sad but romantic story of the late-in-life marriage of the great Christian writer C. S. Lewis, and even quoted Lewis on the importance of prayer.

Rudy, an uplifting true story about an undersized working-class kid determined to make the Notre Dame football team, featured the most admirable on-screen characterization of a Catholic priest since the death of Bing Crosby. More recently, Kevin Costner's character quoted the Bible and repeatedly affirmed his faith in the heartfelt but little-seen melodrama *The War,* while the wildly popular *Forrest Gump* contained numerous (and generally affirmative) references to religion and Divine Providence. The 1994 remake of *Miracle on 34th Street* went even further with its enthusiastic endorsement of organized faith. When the main character Kriss Kringle (Sir Richard Attenborough) declares, "If you can't believe, you'll live the rest of your life dominated by doubt," he's not simply talking about faith in Santa Claus. This becomes clear in the climactic court room scene, where the judge gives an inspiring little speech (not present in the original 1947 film) on the deeper meaning of the words, "In God We Trust."

Of course, these pro-faith messages in major Hollywood films or TV shows don't necessarily mean that the producers suddenly found their way to profound religious passion; the profit motive is still more important in the entertainment business than the prophet motive. If they throw in a religious character in an established TV series like *Roseanne* or *L.A. Law* (or *Picket Fences* or *Northern Exposure,* for that matter) you can assume it's a bid for ratings rather than a statement of faith.

Savvy television or movie producers can read the same surveys the rest of us do—showing, for example, that 75 percent of Americans say they pray "regularly" while 82 percent believe that the Bible is either the "actual" or "the inspired word of God." (This according to the National Opinion Research Center.) In this context, repeated attempts to classify religious believers as crooked or crazy make no sense—especially in view of the consistent failure of projects that contain such denigrating characters, and the surprising success of those films (*Chariots of Fire, Driving Miss Daisy, Sister Act*) that take a more affirmative view of organized faith.

Nevertheless, the presence of devoted Jews and Christians in key positions in the entertainment industry has greatly aided the shift to more supportive on-screen treatment of religious themes and characters. This body of believers provide

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an invaluable resource for an industry that seems eager to connect with the religious sentiments of the general public, but often has no idea where to start.

Like all other creative artists, TV and movie producers work most effectively when reflecting aspects of life they know firsthand. It is no accident that the acclaimed (though recently canceled) NBC series *Against the Grain,* about the loving, church-going family of a small-town football coach in Texas, originated with talented Christian producer Dave Johnson; nor is it a coincidence that *Stranger Among Us,* a murder mystery that offered a glowing (and surprisingly detailed) view of life among the fervently religious Hasidim of Brooklyn, began with a screenplay by Robert Avrech, a committed member of California's largest Orthodox Jewish congregation.

Committed Jews and Christians now entering the entertainment establishment have succeeded in helping to destroy some of the tired old industry stereotypes about what it means to be religious.

Even *Schindler's List,* perhaps the most universally praised motion picture of our time, owes some of its religious sensibility to the personal journey of its creator. The film begins and ends with lovingly rendered Jewish rituals, marking the first time that Steven Spielberg ever made serious reference to his heritage in any of his films; this may stem in part from the filmmaker's recent experience studying Torah with his wife, Kate Capshaw, to complete her conversion to Judaism under Orthodox auspices.

To encourage such individual commitments, and to generate the continued momentum of Hollywood's quiet religious revival, several organizations have sprung up. Inter-Mission, founded in 1987, is easily the largest and most visible of them, with its nearly 2,000 members, its regular educational and social events centered at Hollywood's First Presbyterian Church, and its popular and critically praised Actors Co-op productions of faith-affirming stage plays. Another impressive group of

Other Signs of Faith

Michael Warren and Bill Bickley who met at the First Baptist Church of Beverly Hills, off Sunset Strip, are the openly Christian producers of ABC's Friday night shows *Family Matters* and *Step by Step*—popular programs that have gotten strong responses for their positive, responsible treatments of serious topics. Last year, all three teen-age lead characters on *Family Matters* disclosed that they were virgins. Cody, the most popular character on *Step by Step,* also refused during the season to have sex before marriage. In an October 7, 1994 *Los Angeles Times* story, Bickley and Warren talked about how their religious perspectives affect their output: "Everybody brings a value system to their work," stated Warren. "They see the world and characters and interaction through the eyes of what their world view is. There are places we don't want to go in storytelling. There's behavior we don't want to endorse." Bickley adds, "We try to start out with characters who, whatever their flaws, deep inside want to do the right thing—rather than start with people who don't even have the desire."

Ted Baehr, editor and publisher of *MovieGuide*, on executives in the entertainment industry

"Among the 45 producers of prime-time TV shows, I know that 13 of them are Christians, and I'm told that 7 of them make their Christian faith known to their co-workers. Ten years ago, three or four people came to the Hollywood prayer breakfast. Now 1,500 come to it."

—*Citizen* magazine

Matt Williams, producer of TV's top-rated show, *Home Improvement,* speaks out

You started your career at the Christian Broadcasting Network. How did that experience affect you?

It was the best training I could have had for the work I'm doing today. It was my first regular professional job as an actor, but they let me make suggestions and write scripts.... My work at CBN also helped me to reaffirm the commitment I had made to the Christian faith as a young man.

How did you end up working with Bill Cosby after your time at CBN?

My agent had sent some of my one-act plays to Jay Sandrich, who was the director of *The Cosby Show.* They were having a hard time getting writers to

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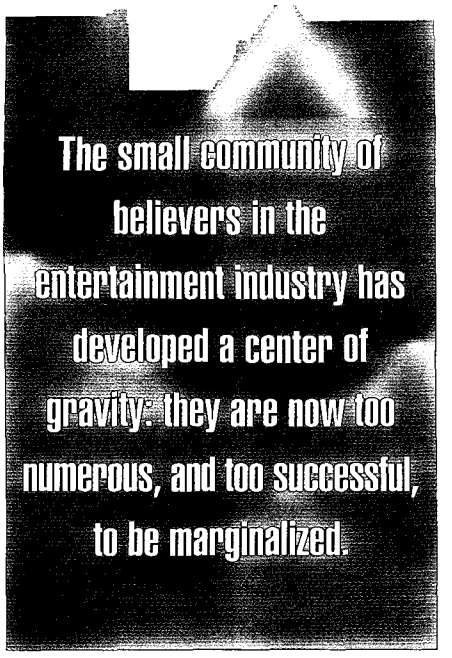
Evangelical Christians has been gathered around the efforts of the sophisticated and charismatic Dr. Larry Poland. His MasterMedia International sponsors "key man" luncheon meetings that provide an unpublicized, informal network for religiously committed executives in all the major studios and TV networks.

Meanwhile, the Los Angeles Film Studies Center works with students from Christian colleges, providing them with a grounding on issues of media and values, helping them secure coveted internships with leading production companies and easing their path into full-time work in the industry. Mormons have also begun to create a network within the show business community; their organization of more than 200 members, ALMA ("Association of Latter-Day Media Artists"), meets several times a year.



Among the disproportionate number of industry professionals who claim Jewish ancestry, the upsurge in religious activity is even more dramatic. The membership in the Synagogue for the Performing Arts has swelled to more than 900 and, more importantly, that nondenominational congregation has taken a decisive turn toward religious traditionalism. Its new rabbi, the Orthodox-ordained Joseph Telushkin, is the author of the recent best-seller *Jewish Literacy* and a passionate, eloquent advocate of Sabbath observance and kosher dietary laws. On October 7, 1994, he welcomed to his pulpit Kirk Douglas, who made a most remarkable declaration of faith. Having "for a long time drifted away from Judaism," Douglas reported that he had recently reconsidered the importance of religion. "That is when I started to think that we should thank those pious, black-hatted, bearded Jews—for keeping Judaism alive for so long. They understood something very deep that we more secular types never learned,

present the family in the way Bill wanted. I got a call to come to New York to interview and analyze the first *Cosby* show, and....I ended up writing and producing *Cosby* for four years.

***How did you create* Home Improvement?**
My partners and I wanted to create a show with a strong father and parents who were smarter than their kids. The kids would be smart enough to tease their dad, but with respect. The husband and wife on the show are also able to argue with and tease each other, but in the end you know that nothing is going to tear apart their marriage. The working title of the show was *The Father as Hero.*

How does your faith in Christ affect your work?
Let me give you an example: Tim Allen, who plays the lead character on the show, created the character device of the wise next-door neighbor behind the fence, to whom he goes for advice. I sat down with the other executive producers, and we fashioned this character, Wilson, like a wise man from the Bible who would quote from the Scriptures or from philosophy. In one show, Tim had to decide whether he was going to go out and drink with his old buddies or stay home for family video night. When he talked to Wilson, he heard the Scripture from 1 Corinthians 13, which says, "When I stopped being a child, I put away childish things." Tim stayed home with his family at the end of the episode. We got an overwhelming response to that show.

Why have you chosen to write to about families when you could easily write about other topics?
The family is the core of society. I believe that if two-parent families were functioning in a healthy manner, 90 percent of society's ills would be eliminated.

***What kind of scripts are you looking for at* Home Improvement?**
First let me tell you what we are not looking for. We had a writer come to us once and say I have a great idea for a script for *Home Improvement*: Tim cheats on Jill. That writer had no understanding of our show at all. We want to be a show that celebrates the American family and Tim will never commit adultery on Jill.

Why do you write in such a positive way? In Hollywood it's easy to make big sums of money writing negatively about the family and yet you have refused to do so.
I believe that writers and producers have a responsibility to say, "What is the effect of what I have created?" Actions have consequences. The biggest problem in television is that for the last 25 years, producers haven't shown their audiences that violent behavior and sexual behavior have consequences. That is why we have 14-year-old kids participating in drive-by shootings and having babies.

—interview by Dave Geisler

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or forgot if we did: God gave us the Torah—and that made us the conscience of the world."

Until recently, few among Hollywood's religious Jewish community would have spoken publicly in such terms. Today, several organizations work to reach the entertainment industry's many unaffiliated Jews with a more traditional Jewish message. The Jerusalem-based educational institution Aish HaTorah ("The Fire of Torah") opened a branch in Los Angeles 10 years ago and has made major inroads into the entertainment community. Pacific Jewish Center, the outreach-oriented congregation with which I've been affiliated for 18 years, counts among its members and alumni numerous producers, actors, writers, executives, and agents. One alumnus, a successful young screenwriter named Jeff Schechter, has recently assembled a group of more than three dozen Orthodox writers who intend to meet regularly to share ideas and encouragement.

In light of their deep differences in theology and style, the burgeoning Jewish and Christian groups in Hollywood have as yet made no formal attempt to work together, but their individual members cooperate on worthy endeavors nearly every day. On the most profound and personal level, religious Jews and Christians manage to inspire one another, and find significant areas of agreement in the struggle for basic decency and the defense of traditional values in the popular culture. Since secularists are still the vast majority within the entertainment industry, it's natural for believers of any description to feel a sense of fellowship and common purpose that cuts across sectarian boundaries.

The behind-the-scenes experience on the CBS show *Christy* offers a case in point. Christian producer Ken Wales initially worried that his Jewish co-producer Barney Rosenzweig might want to eliminate some of the script references to prayer and faith. But Rosenzweig—who had begun studying traditional Judaism several years before with the rabbis at Aish HaTorah, and who had already created primetime's first outspokenly Orthodox character (the selfless, dedicated public defender on *The Trials of Rosie O'Neill*)—felt entirely comfortable with *Christy*'s religious themes, and he joined with Wales in persuading the predictably timid network to retain them.

Religious Jews and Christians inspire one another and find significant areas of agreement in the struggle for basic decency and the defense of traditional values in the popular culture.

Out of such small victories are revolutions made. While most Americans have hardly noticed, key institutions and personalities of popular culture have begun developing a notably more hospitable attitude toward organized religion. Hollywood's current status still leaves vast room for improvement, but an exhilarating spirit of change—if not outright rebirth and revival—is already in the air.

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Movie Content as Studied by Stanley Rothman et al.

In a forthcoming book titled *Hollywood's America*, media scholars Stanley Rothman, David Rothman, and Stephen Powers analyze a random sample of the top 10 U.S. films for each year between 1946 and 1990. During the earlier decades, religion in the movies "was an institution upon which both heroic and ordinary characters relied for support. Religion held a special power over the lives of the faithful which enabled them to accomplish or to endure things that others could not.... Not only religious workers but also other characters holding religious beliefs were portrayed favorably." But since about 1965, the authors report, moviemakers have "largely ignored traditional religious themes.... Looking at the religious composition of characters, we find that the number actually identified as belonging to one religion or another has declined dramatically." During the period 1946–1955, for instance, 19 percent of all movie characters had known religious identities. By the 1976–1990 era, this had fallen to a miniscule 4 percent. Moreover, the depictions of religious characters that did show up in films became much less favorable. Religious characters went from having positive images in 81 percent of all cases during the '40s and '50s to just 56 percent positive from 1976 to 1990, according to Rothman, Rothman, and Powers. The portrayal of religious workers likewise degraded—from 100 percent positive to 50 percent. Religious workers succeeded in their main goals in 70 percent of '46–'55 films, versus just 17 percent of the films made 30 years later.

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Still a long way to go

Glimpses from Above and Below Hollywood's Faith Line with Ben Stein

About 10 years ago, I held a fairly hot hand in the TV movie game. I had thought up and sold the story line for the 14 1/2-hour miniseries, *Amerika*, about a Soviet takeover of the United States. I had written the story line for a fine TV movie called *Murder in Mississippi*, about the murder of the civil rights workers Goodman, Cheney, and Schwerner. There were options out on two of my books as potential TV movies, and I had development deals all over town.

Then I thought of what seemed to me an ideal story line for TV. I was moved to suggest it by survey data from this very magazine that showed the great majority of Americans 1) believe in God, 2) try to live by religious precepts, and 3) believe in the power of prayer to shape their lives for the better.

The story was to be called *Diary of a Minister's Wife*. It would follow a minister and his wife in a small town in Arkansas (because that's where my wife's family is from). The husband cheats on his wife and is found out. She is about to leave him. But she prays, and realizes that she has promised to love him before God "for better or for worse." So she tells him she will stay if he will pray too and promise before God to be faithful. He does, and though sorely tempted by a small-town sex bomb (I envisioned Dolly Parton) he stays on the straight and narrow, and their lives are happy.

I took this idea to a very successful TV movie producer who is also a devout Christian—the only one I ever met in the higher reaches of Hollywood. She loved it, and we went to the networks (there were only three at that time) to pitch it.

I will not say that the network brass hissed or spat. I will only say that they were bewildered. The minister's wife was simply on a different planet from them. I still recall one of the network poohbahs looking at me and my colleague and saying, "Yeah, but what's her motivation? What makes her stay with the guy?"

No amount of explaining about faith and belief would turn the trick. To this day, I sometimes run into the people I pitched and they remind me of *Diary of a Minister's Wife* as if I had played a big joke on them and they got it just after I left. I never sold the story, or any other after that time.

That's one.

Two happened about a year ago. After a flurry of acting gigs involving my little face, I said to my agent, "I think my career is really moving now."

"I agree," she said.

"Is there anything I could do that would derail it at this point?" I asked.

"Well, in Hollywood, you absolutely never can count on anything. That's just Hollywood," she said.

"Of course," I agreed. "But is there any *faux pas* I could make that would spell doom for my acting career?"

"The only thing would be if you started marching in the lines outside abortion clinics and got to be known as a pro-life fanatic," she said. "That would kill you dead. There's no room for pro-life in Hollywood."

The third incident happened not long ago, when I was doing an episode of a wonderful TV show. The makeup woman who worked on me had a picture of a boy on her counter. She told me her story (as people always do). She was a single mom. Her boyfriend had ditched her when she got pregnant. She had been told by her employers and the top brass on the set that she must have an abortion. "But I said I would not murder my own child, that I was a Christian, and I would not do that, and I have that boy, and I love him every minute with every cell in my body."

But she said this in a whisper, and as she did, the other makeup people nodded in agreement, but carefully, as if someone might overhear them. True believers in the catacombs of the trailers, I thought, fearing that the Caesars in the executive offices would discover them.

Episode four: At a self-help group in Malibu, a star of titanic proportions is talking. "I always thought if I made a million a picture, I would be happy and I wouldn't have to drink. Then, if I had five million a picture I would stop drinking. But I never stopped drinking until I came to believe that God loved me just as I was, and I didn't have to do anything but love Him back to be happy. And this is something you will never hear spoken out loud in Hollywood, but if people there really believed it, the people who count, the writers and producers, the movies wouldn't be so much about killing and screwing and they'd make people feel good instead of feeling wired when they came out of the theater."

Finally, this observation: Except among the below-the-line people—the gaffers, the makeup people, the sound men and women, the grips—you never hear any reference to God in the daily life of Hollywood except for the expletive "goddammit," and witness no faith at all except faith in the power of the buck. In the dark corners of sets and in 12-step rooms, you hear about miracles and prayer and faith and life. But above the line, the entertainment world is a purely, or almost purely, materialistic place. Among the teamsters and lighting men and hair girls, there is faith. It is like a cold war. And there is very little seepage from one side to the other.

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PATHS TO FREEDOM

Is democracy always the best route from Third World to First World?

A significant election will take place in Peru on April 9. At that time, Peruvians will decide whether to return to office their current president—who after being elected in 1990 imposed an authoritarian "self-coup," cleaned up some enormous problems, and then reinstituted democracy. Among Alberto Fujimori's accomplishments are mastery of the most murderous terrorist movement since the Khmer Rouge, and the transformation of Peru from economic basket case to economic star of Latin America. ■ *The Peru example raises many fascinating questions about managing the transition from backward to successful nation. The emergence of a Peru-Chile-Korea-China-Singapore model for soft authoritarianism in politics and freedom and liberalism in economics has implications for U.S. foreign policy. It also carries lessons for Russia and other Eastern European nations now choosing their path to development. We examine these issues in four essays below.* —KZ

The Interesting Case of Peru

José Luis Sardón

Alberto Fujimori's Peruvian government has made truly dramatic strides. When he moved into the Presidential Palace in 1990, inflation was running at 7,600 percent a year, but by the end of 1994 it was down to 18 percent —Peru's lowest rate in two decades. Peru's GDP, which had contracted a startling 30 percent between 1988 and 1990, rose 11 percent in 1994. Peru has gone from international economic leper to growth leader of Latin America. And the responsibility undeniably lies with the president's austerity program, liberalizing reforms, and aggressive privatizing efforts that have resulted in the sale of dozens of large state firms. All of these changes were aimed at dismantling the benefactor state so favored by populist governments of the 1970s and 1980s.

But in assessing this irrefutable economic success we cannot overlook the fact that at 10:30 p.m. on April 5, 1992, President Fujimori locked out the Peruvian Congress and Supreme Court and suspended the Constitution for several months. Was this measure, as Fujimori would have us believe, an indispensable trade-off for rescuing the economy and protecting a civil society torn by terrorism?

■ The crisis that Fujimori encountered in 1990 was not just economic. It also had a terrible political side, manifest in the state's dwindling capacity to protect its own citizens. Twelve years of terrorist mayhem generated by "Shining Path" political revolutionaries had created a nearly ungovernable nation. The Maoist rebels had murdered 23,000 persons and inflicted more than $20 billion of damage since going on the offensive, and Peru was rated by U.S. experts as the most dangerous place in the world to do business. Economic revival could be ruled out until "the world's bloodiest terrorist movement" was defeated.

The existing Congress and courts, however, had proven too incompetent and too cowed to halt the destruction. Corruption was endemic throughout the Peruvian government. Judges who were either sympathizers, bought off, or facing death threats were releasing before they

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even came to trial fully 95 percent of the Shining Path suspects arrested by police. When Fujimori proposed tough anti-terrorist measures combined with strong free market reforms, the Peruvian Congress resisted and then began blocking his executive orders. Shortly after the Supreme Court inexplicably dropped charges while trying ruthless Shining Path mastermind Abimael Guzmán *in absentia*, Fujimori announced his so-called "self-coup" (*el autogolpe*).

Nearly 80 percent of the Peruvian people awarded him their support. During the several months that Fujimori governed without the Congress he implemented an exceptionally hard-line counter-terrorism campaign, which included military tribunals, hooded judges, and life sentences for terrorists. The Peruvian government took the offensive and achieved things that would never have been possible under the old regime. More and more terrorists were put behind bars until finally, on September 12, 1992, Guzmán himself was captured and brought to justice.

Not long after the capture of Guzmán, on November 22, 1992, Fujimori called elections for a new Congress. The candidates voted in by the public took up their duties on January 1, 1993, putting an end to the dictatorial spell. Several months later, at a referendum, the Peruvian people gave their blessing to a new Constitution thrashed out by the Congress. Local government elections also went ahead during this period.

▤ Although it is true that Fujimori's achievements were accompanied by a breakdown of constitutional order, this was not left unmended. It would be wrong, therefore, to say that Fujimori is a Peruvian version of Park or even Pinochet, who led true authoritarian regimes in South Korea in the 1960s and Chile in the 1970s, respectively. Furthermore, it should be remembered that Fujimori respected freedom of expression. Before, during and after the dictatorship period, Peru's mainstream press directed sharp criticism at him. *El Comercio*, the main daily, and *Caretas* magazine, the top weekly, attacked hard. There is television programming that insults the president on a practically full-time basis.

Luckily, the U.S. government recognized that once the self-coup had taken place, a negotiated solution recognizing Peru's delicate condition was necessary. Secretary of State James Baker delivered a stern reprimand before the OAS to the Peruvian minister of foreign affairs, saying, "You can't save democracy by destroying it." Yet the United States did not sever relations with Peru.

During the Clinton administration, the United States has reacted cautiously toward the Peruvian political situation. Economic aid remains suspended, and certainly the U.S. Congress and the Department of State have paid too much attention to certain human rights activists. Statements reflecting a preoccupation with human rights allegations in Peru have not always been based on accurate information. The White House itself has trodden with greater care. Last June, for example, it declared unfounded an AFL-CIO petition to remove Peru from the General Preferences System due to alleged labor rights violations committed by the Fujimori government. The White House decision was a sound gesture that bore not only commercial but also political implications.

Thus, on balance, U.S. foreign policy toward Fujimori has been basically correct. Washington has not bowed to the pressure of the liberal American press, which likes to caricature Fujimori as the traditional Latin American dictator. Neither, on the other hand, has it accepted that anything goes so long as the Shining Path is defeated. It has tried to strike a happy medium between either extreme.

■ Fujimori's main rival for reelection on April 9 to another five-year term is former United Nations Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, who despite much international prestige has yet to stir the patriotic fervor of his countrymen. The latest polls have Pérez de Cuéllar 30 points shy of Fujimori. The president might well pull off a sweeping first-round victory.

Why is Fujimori popular? There are two fundamental reasons. First, people are afraid that the Shining Path could rear its ugly head again should Pérez de Cuéllar win the election. Few believe that the 75-year-old U.N. diplomat would have sufficient energy to deal with such a colossally deadly adversary. Second, Pérez de Cuéllar's economic ideas—with an excessive emphasis on social welfare policy—seem to endorse a rehashed version of the discredited benefactor state.

A Fujimori victory therefore seems assured. The president would have to commit some crass errors in the few weeks remaining before the polls open in order to lose. Peruvian public opinion is now in favor of economic and political modernization; and it embraces the leader that, thanks to his keen intuition, was able to grasp, interpret, and follow that new heading.

José Luis Sardón is a professor of civil law and political science at the Universidad del Pacifico in Lima.

Venezuela: Democratic and Floundering

Carlos Ball

My country—Venezuela—is a longstanding democracy with vast physical and human resources. Yet today it is one of the globe's better examples of how not to run an economy and society.

Venezuela has been racing downhill since the first administration of President Rafael Caldera, elected in the early 1970s as an economic populist. Caldera nationalized a wave of businesses and utilities, restricted foreign banks, set price controls, raised taxes on oil companies to 80 percent, and criticized commercial treaties, trade, and foreign investment. These foolish actions were compounded by the tragic 1976 decision of President Carlos Andrés Pérez to nationalize the foreign oil compa-

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The freedom to elect a president every five years is not enough. Democracy in Venezuela has not meant freedom.

—Carlos Ball

Chile is perhaps the best example of a "markets-first-and-*then*-democracy" transformation, but an even more consequential case is now at work in China.

—Bartlett and Lyniuk

nies operating in Venezuela, a political act he described as "an act of faith."

The Venezuelan miracle in reverse has its roots in the concentration of both political and economic power in the hands of politicians, especially the head of government. Venezuelan politicians have tried to solve every problem for the last 25 years by throwing money at it, and the people have collaborated in demanding services, housing, health care, and incomes, totally undermining the natural relationship between hard work and well-being. In Venezuela today wealth is seen not as the outcome of production or the provision of service to a consumer, but rather as a natural resource that is allocated by the politicians. The result is that the closer you are to the corridors of government power, the wealthier you become.

Harsh social decline has followed on these shifts. One-third of all Venezuelans now report they have been recent victims of a crime. More people are murdered in Caracas than in New York City, which is twice as big. The judicial system is inefficient and corrupt. Seventy percent of the people in Venezuelan jails are awaiting trial, which means that an undetermined number may well be innocent or may have already served more time in prison than their alleged crimes call for.

■ Meanwhile, President Caldera was voted back in to office in 1994 to pursue economic statism. A product of the 1930s and the corporatist regimes of that era, Caldera gives rabble-rousing speeches revolving around "solidarity" and "social justice." His economic policies are straight out of the "lost decade" of the 1980s, when Latin American bureaucrats still believed they could outwit the collective wisdom of the market. The government is setting prices on food, medicines, and other goods and services. The Consumer Education and Protection Agency has become the economic police, with a wide net of spies and the authority to confiscate goods and close business establishments. Most economic crimes carry jail sentences of 2 to 4 years. Calderistas say all this is necessary because of an "excess of economic freedom" under the previous Pérez administration.

President Caldera and his labor minister are the authors of the most "progressive" labor law in the Americas, which has deterred investments, made Venezuela noncompetitive in the global market, and pushed many enterprises toward bankruptcy. Taxes, spending, regulations, and controls are increasing. Along with exchange and price controls, Venezuelans today suffer from the highest inflation in South America. A recent debacle was the collapse in January of 1994 of Banco Latino and the resulting financial crisis that led the government to seize 11 banks and pay off depositors with $8.5 billion of newly printed currency. Eight-point-five billion dollars was three-quarters of all the bank deposits in the country, and is about 14 percent of Venezuela's GNP.

■ Populist economics have virtually destroyed once prosperous Venezuela over the last generation. In the 1950s, Venezuela's exports were larger than the combined exports of Hong Kong and Taiwan. Today, with few natural resources and roughly the same population of 21 million, Taiwan has an economy three times larger than Venezuela's, and $90 billion in foreign reserves. Yet enemies of the free market in today's Caldera administration are having a field day blaming virtually all of Venezuela's current problems on too much economic liberalization.

One of the obvious lessons in Venezuela (made particularly telling by the comparison to the Asian newly industrialized countries) is that the freedom to elect a president every five years is not enough. Democracy in Venezuela has not meant freedom. Democracy does not work without the institutional framework that allows economic development, rule of law, and secure property rights.

Carlos Ball is the director of Foro Latinoamericano, and editor at the InterAmerican Economic Press Agency.

Markets or Elections?

Bruce Bartlett and Roman Lyniuk

The literature on the relationship between economic and political freedoms has been mushrooming since the mid-1980s. Gerald Scully of the University of Texas, for instance, has compared 115 countries over a 20-year period and found tight links between the two types of liberties. We now know that a regime without property rights and free markets in addition to democratic politics will not long prosper. Less clear, however, is the question of which freedoms—economic or political—should be pursued first in a country that starts with neither. If markets and democracy are both essential in the long run, which should take priority in a country working its way out of backwardness?

Those on the Left, having earlier embraced authoritarianism as the necessary

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path to development, now champion human rights above all else. They vocally urge the Clinton administration to reject most favored nation status for China until China faithfully observes all human rights. They press for an embargo and subsequent invasion of Haiti in the name of democracy.

The Left resists the idea that economic freedoms much matter. Economic rights are always conspicuously absent from the Left's tally of human rights that need to be protected. Has any democracy crusader ever called for sanctions against a country that deprives its people of property rights, fails to uphold contracts, or imposes confiscatory taxation?

This is an unfortunate blind spot, for there is strong evidence that liberalization of an economy is the single best way to broaden political rights. The path is as follows: Economic freedom leads to economic growth; growth in turn creates wealth and a power structure outside of government; soon an independent middle class demands a sharing of political power. By then, the pressure for openness has spread deeply into society, neutralizing state agents, police, and military who might wish to maintain monopoly control. Although the economic road to political freedom can be bumpy, it is the most reliable, and speedy, route.

Chile is perhaps the best example of a "markets-first-and-then-democracy" transformation, but an even more consequential case is now at work in China. Since China began to deregulate its economy a decade ago, its growth rate has become one of the fastest on earth. As in other countries, this expansion quickly led to demands for political freedom. To its discredit, China has so far brutally suppressed those demands, jailing and even killing individuals calling for democratic reforms. But China has not backpedaled on economic liberalism, and sooner or later market growth will lead to an inevitable bursting of the political dam.

While it is tempting to believe that we in the West can speed up this process by exerting political pressure on the Chinese leadership, it is unlikely that we could be very helpful. Withdrawal of most favored nation status would certainly not help. Insofar as it would reduce economic growth in China, such a step could actually reduce the internal pressure for reform.

Democracy absolutists will attack any scheme that defers the establishment of political freedoms until after economic freedoms have rooted. But this is, in fact, often the correct course. The best way to improve human rights in authoritarian regimes is to encourage them to adopt markets that will make them grow. Free economics will ultimately do more to discredit authoritarianism in places like China, Indonesia, and Latin America than any decades of speeches and moralizing from Uncle Sam ever will.

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Democracy and Development

Jagdish Bhagwati

The rise of successful countries with nondemocratic governments is producing echoes of an old view that democracy necessarily handicaps development. It is not uncommon, for instance, to find Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew speaking on the theme of democracy's "undisciplined" ways. Yew credits "soft" authoritarian rule with protecting Singapore from this crippling affliction. "I believe what a country needs to develop is discipline more than democracy," says Yew. "The exuberance of democracy leads to indiscipline and disorderly conduct which are inimical to development."

So long as market reforms are in place, authoritarianism can actually facilitate more rapid growth, goes this argument. Most of all, the debate concerns the optimal *sequencing* of markets and democracy. There is now a view that in the developing countries, as also in the former socialist countries, markets must be gotten first and democracy next. This conclusion is reinforced by the recent Russian descent from superpower to supine status after the sequence she chose was to put *glasnost* before *perestroika*, while the Chinese, by introducing markets before democracy, clearly did immensely better. Does this not imply that *perestroika* must precede, not follow, *glasnost*?

Such a perspective invokes the notion, based both on historical experience and the recent evidence that democratic demands have arisen in South Korea and other economically successful countries, that growth will ultimately create an effective push for democracy. The evidence is substantial and persuasive. Yet it is not so simpleminded as the old "cruel dilemma" thesis, once common in development theory, which tried to force us to choose between democracy and development. The emerging reality of the relationship between democracy and markets may be summarized in four categories:

- Democracies with markets (by and large the Western industrial nations) are strongly successful.
- Democracies without markets (India being the prime example) have had sorry economic performance and unsatisfactory social indicators.
- Authoritarian governments without markets (like the former socialist countries) are abysmal failures, both in terms of growth and of social health.
- Authoritarian governments with markets (China being the best current example, earlier the Far Eastern tigers, and Chile) have had rapid increases in prosperity.

The lessons, then, are clear: Markets can deliver growth and social health, with or without democracy. Democracies without markets, however, are unlikely to deliver either.

Jagdish Bhagwati is a visiting scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and a professor of economics at Columbia University. This is adapted from his Rajiv Gandhi Lecture.

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Transcript

Words worth repeating

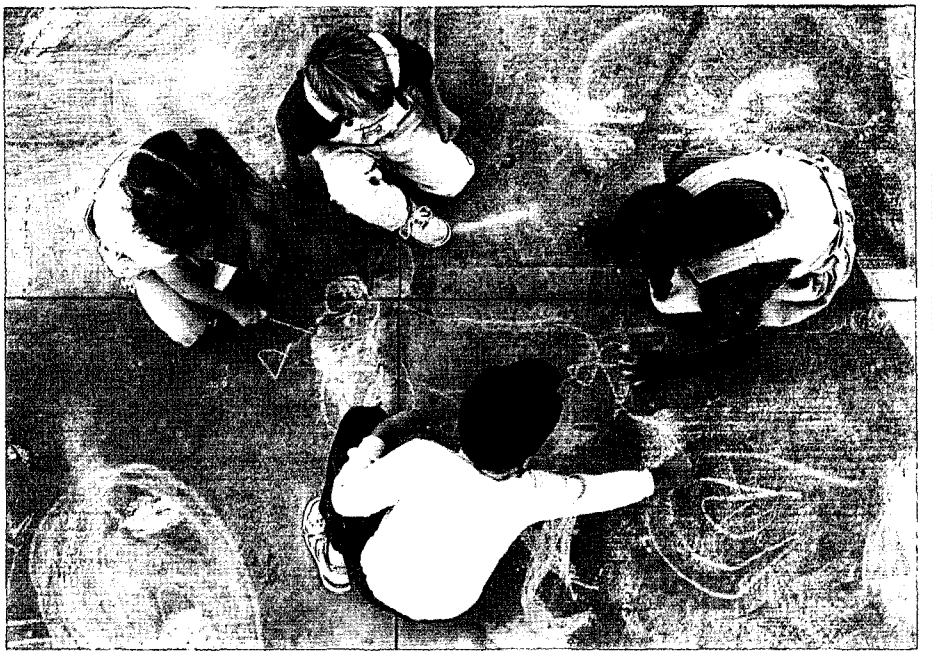
Orphanage Alumni Speak for Themselves

Hillary Rodham Clinton called proposals to create orphanages "unbelievable" and "absurd." George Stephanopolous suggested sending copies of Oliver Twist *to Republican members of Congress. Other critics excerpted the fiction of Dickens and Faulkner to create distressing images of orphanages.*

Orphanages, group homes, boarding schools—call them what you will—are hardly a preferred way to raise children, especially very young ones. Psychological research demonstrates that any basically decent home is better for a child than an institution. If the decision was really between decent homes and orphanages it would be an easy one. But alas that choice is not the one we face in lots of real-life cases today.

The most harrowing imagery of our time appears not in novels but in news—in the catalogue of abuses inflicted upon children by many unwed welfare mothers. Contra critics, the focus on orphanages is not driven by some desire to snatch babies from parents; it grows out of the cold fact that thousands of children are now being thrown away *by derelict parents, and that society currently has no better option than to return the child along with a bi-weekly check to the neglecters.*

Interestingly, the orphanage debate has generated an enormous response from individuals who actually grew up in such institutions in earlier decades. Many of them argue that orphanages are better than present alternatives and ought to be revived as an option for children in the worst circumstances. Below, we reproduce a sampling of first-person accounts.



Stephen Simpson/FPG International Corp.

An Orphan on Orphanages, Richard B. McKenzie, *Wall Street Journal,* November 29,1994

...A funny thing has happened in the emerging debate [over orphanages]: No one has thought to ask us orphans, the children who grew up in institutions, what we would prefer.

I've spent a lifetime quietly listening to others disparage orphanages as cold and loveless institutions where every child longs to be adopted. I know that this description is out of date and out of whack, and should have no bearing on the debate of how to help some of the least fortunate children among us. I was there. I grew up in a home with 150 or so other girls and boys in North Carolina in the 1950s—and I'm damn proud of it, and thankful!

Life in The Home (which is what we called it) was no picnic. When we were young, we got two baths and changes of clothes a week, regardless of whether we needed more. We went barefoot to school until late November (which, until it got cold, was a marked advantage). We went to bed in "sleeping porches" that were totally unheated. We worked hard for long hours on the farm and in the shops, and we lacked a lot, not the least of which were the daily hugs other children take for granted and the requisite level of encouragement to read and study.

Critics of orphanages stress what the children there did not have. Those of us who were there have a different perspective.... [In an orphanage] we got security in the knowledge that The Home would always be there, no mean advantage for children whose families had failed them. We had 1,500 acres of pastures and woods to roam, and we made dozens of lifelong "brothers and sisters."

I know many people...harbor fears about workers in homes for children. They, however, have never had the good fortune of meeting Albert McClure and Rebecca Carpenter, the highly religious leaders of The Home, who devoted their lives to making sure, as best they could, that we learned (albeit reluctantly and imperfectly) the difference between right and wrong....

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The critics have never had the opportunity to sit in Frances Moore's seventh-grade class. By her unbounded force of character, she turned my life, and the lives of so many of my classmates, away from a destructive course to one that had prospects....

I often watch the television program *Cops,* and I am especially drawn to the episodes involving domestic violence and abuse of children. My heart goes out to the children caught off to the side in the pictures. I know that many will remain mired in their unfortunate circumstances. Few will have the opportunity that the kids at The Home had, to be catapulted into a totally new environment and onto a totally new life course.

...People should understand that homes for children must remain a viable option for many children. Those of us who were there share an array of experiences that children from many families—the traditional ones and the publicly supported variants—can only envy.

Letters to the Editor, *USA Today*, January 6–8, 1995

...Society today believes strongly in keeping the family unit intact. My definition of a family is a unit that provides love and safety from harm to our children. A mother and father need not be included as family if violence, abuse, and neglect are occurring and recurring in the original, biological unit....

"Houses" for abused, neglected children would be a feasible and desirable answer and produce profound positive effects on these children. They would be houses of love, houses where there is safety from harm, houses where children can share their problems, houses that give the children a chance to grow up outside the cycle of violence. The children would receive professional help and be mainstreamed in schools and activities.

The cost to the taxpayers has been an issue. My question: What kind of dollar value can you put on a child's quality of life?

Speaking for myself and other adult survivors of child abuse, yes, someone would have done us a great service by taking us out of our original family homes. They were not homes anyway, and we have suffered for a lifetime the abuse inflicted on us by our own parents.

The watchword should always be safety and security for the children.

A house is not a home.

Deborah Simon Safer
Forget Not the Children Inc.
Savannah, Georgia

I was raised from the age of two to the age of nine in an orphanage. My earliest memories are of that.

It was very democratic. I was fed, sheltered, clothed, and treated as an equal. I was provided a very good moral structure that I cannot escape; anytime I try, it still creates difficulty for me. I was given the best that any home could provide.

I support orphanages and think they would take care of a lot of the problems plaguing our society today. I am 51 years old, have raised four children, and things are great for me. I believe a lot of it has to do with being raised in an orphanage.

Jacqueline Ramsdell
Arlington, Texas

I am 70. I was raised in a state orphanage for 14 years. I don't think orphanages exist in today's changing world as we knew them, but if they could be like they were in my childhood, I would recommend them....

My 20 classmates had nothing but positive things to say when we celebrated our fiftieth anniversary in 1993....

Charlie W. Johnson
Dunnellon, Florida

Orphanages Saved Our Lives, *Wall Street Journal*, December 29, 1994

...In 1933, when I was three years old, my father took my sisters and me to the orphanage [St. Michael's School in Hopewell, N.J.] after my mother died.... He could not afford a housekeeper or nanny and had to work to support us as inexpensively as possible. The separation from home, father and mother was traumatic, but we adapted. The nurturing, stable routine of living with 20 to 30 agemates from infancy to age 13 was extraordinary.... We learned to share our meager possessions and went halfies with our "grub," which lucky orphans received on visiting Sunday from their families....

Our lives were sheltered from the world at large. We learned by rote, and obeyed the rules .... At the age of eight we were assigned a daily job that changed every month and was appropriate to the ability of each child; this taught us responsibility....

At age 13, I left the orphanage and experienced a traumatic rebirth.... I felt stupid and ashamed of having been an orphan.... Eventually, I came to understand and accept that I was not responsible for what happened to me and that I was as good a human being as anyone, including the Pope. This realization gave me a psychological boost and I went on to do well in high school. I worked to generate enough money to pay my way through nursing school; I got married, reared six children and one foster child from Vietnam. I have had a satisfying life.

I have kept in touch with my sisters throughout the past 50 years. Orphanages staffed by child educators and trained caretakers can be a better situation than foster homes or natural families in which children are neglected and abused.

Cecille Haggerty/O'Brien
New York

When I entered the Hershey Industrial School (now the Milton Hershey School) in 1937, the only "social welfare" program available at the time was whatever extended family members and neighbors could afford to contribute from their own meager resources....

Had it not been for Milton Hershey and his philanthropic concern for orphans, I may have been writing this from a prison cell, if I could write at all, rather than from the comfortable retirement that I am in....

As far as I know, none of our "family" has ever had problems with the law, most have become solid family men (the school now includes females), and many have made national contributions to society in various fields—medicine, religion, sports, teaching, etc. The point is, when compared with today's "warehousing" of orphans through the governmental hodgepodge of social welfare programs, there is no comparison. One has only to catch 15 minutes of the evening news on any day to ascertain that as a truism.

Darrell Blizzard
Glenwood, Maryland

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Orphanages Can Help, *Fort Myers News-Press*, December 23, 1994
I lived in an orphanage from the time I was 3 years old until I went to live with a great-aunt 10 years later. My orphanage provided me a shelter, a home, a big and warm family of ad hoc sisters and brothers, a casual but caring love, and an education. In short, a home.

Regina P. Hammond
Fort Myers

Orphanage Chorus from the Past, Mike Royko, *Washington Times*, December 12, 1994. (Responses to an earlier column on orphanages.)
Mr. Gertz, a leading Chicago attorney, says: "As a child I was in the Cleveland Jewish Orphan Home from 1917 to 1920, and in the Marks Nathan Jewish Orphan Home in Chicago from 1920 to 1923. I can attest that we had better education, discipline, religious training, health care, recreation and companionship than those outside of our facilities. The supervision was generally superb....

"I have long regretted that the Jewish community here and elsewhere abandoned the orphanage concept for foster homes and the like. It was a mistake that ought to be corrected."

Mr. Liddil of Peterborough, N.H., says: "Caring people [in orphanages] fed and clothed and hugged me during the years my family could not. They worked tirelessly to fulfill my needs. Far from eating gruel, I spent many a happy meal at a table with 15 of my 'brothers.'

"Orphanage is not a dirty word. It is a composite of love and care and hope. It was a support system outside the cottages where we stayed, where a gatekeeper kept out the bogyman.

"The orphanage was a good place to be by any standard today's homeless kids must endure."

Orphanages Still Exist—A Close-up

Some critics concede that orphanages may have worked in the past but cannot function well today. Barbara Mathiss's article on the Baptist Home for Children and Families in Bethesda, Maryland, offers another view.

The Orphanage Experience As It Was, As It Is, Barbara Mathiss, *Washington Post*, December 12, 1994
Fourteen-year-old Joyce doesn't appear to know anything about all this bureaucratic hoopla about orphanages. After being bounced from more than a dozen foster homes in four years, all she knows is that after being abandoned by her drug-addicted parents when she was 10, she's finally found a place where she wants to stay and people she can trust. It's called the Baptist Home for Children and Families, an independent non-profit agency that runs a therapeutic facility discreetly tucked into a wooded area in a Bethesda neighborhood.

Nearly a year ago, Joyce came to the Baptist Home's Greentree Adolescent Program, which houses and treats 10 boys and 10 girls, ages 12 to 18, in two plain, single-story dorms that sit adjacent to each other. Built in the 1970s and equipped with donated furniture, the most notable quality about Joyce's new home is that it is impeccably clean....

Down the hall are five small rooms, each with one window, two beds, two dressers and bookshelves, which many of the girls like to place between their beds so they have separate space and privacy. Again, the most jarring impression is how orderly and clean the rooms are. Even with the collections of toiletries displayed like trophies, clusters of greeting cards and family photos taped to the walls, there's no sign of indulgence or clutter.

"Our job is to keep the room clean," says Joyce proudly, noting that she had her shoes lined up under the bed and had hidden her radio and shoe box of tapes so a visitor wouldn't think she was "messy." Joyce is reticent to talk about her nine brothers and sisters, who live in foster homes. She doesn't have pictures because she rarely gets to see them or hear from them. The holiday time is especially hard, she says shyly. "I can forgive my parents, but I can't forget them."

It's easier to talk about life at the Home. A seventh-grader, Joyce goes to the Greentree school on the grounds, a 60-day, approved transitional program she needs to attend before it is decided where she will got to school. If she misses any classes, she says, there are "consequences"—that's the word they use for what happens when you break the rules, like not getting to bed on time or causing a late-night disturbance. When that happens, the culprit may have to be confined to her room for a day, or do extra chores or community service. "It's not that bad," Joyce says with a shrug. "When you have consequences, they do bring you your food, but nobody likes to stay in their room all the time."

The first few months at Greentree, Joyce kept running away, just like she used to from her foster homes when she thought she was the cause of things not working out....

Gradually, with the help of her counselors, she realized running away wasn't getting her anywhere. She also had started to like the friendships she was making with the other girls, and all those little things, such as the donations of stuffed animals, shampoo and hair spray, clothing, and, most important to Joyce, the opportunity to earn an allowance ($4.20 a week) by doing chores....

According to Susan Barnhill, the director of the Greentree Adolescent Program, its policy is to prepare the teenagers for a return to families, or foster placement or independent living. To do this effectively, the child must be treated for his problems before he is released to foster parents who are given special training and backup from the Greentree staff. Depending on each child's therapeutic progress, this may take from a few months to two years. The ultimate goal is not to have the child stay permanently, says Barnhill; rather, to have him adjust to family life and the outside world.

Does Joyce ever think about her future? "I don't think about it as much," she says, then pauses. "I don't think I'm ever going to leave here, to tell you the truth, because I don't have nowhere else to go. I ran away from so many places that this is the only place I can go. But it's good.

...It's nice here."

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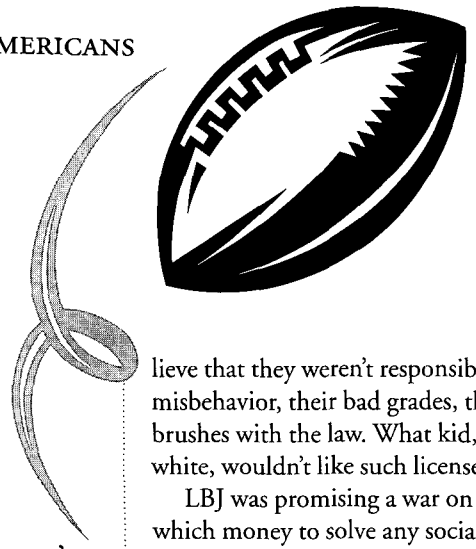
Journal

THE DAILY WORK OF AMERICANS



Paying the "Fool Dues" of the '60s

Douglas Glant

In 1966, fresh out of Stanford and into the family scrap business, I started coaching football and tutoring English and history in Seattle's Rainier District, where I had grown up. On the shores of Lake Washington, Rainier Valley had been predominantly Italian, Scandinavian, and Jewish until 1960, when its Asian and, especially, black populations began to grow rapidly.

My team, the 10- to 13-year-old "Pee Wees," was 90 percent black, its two coaches Jewish—yours truly and Jim Greenfield, *Washington Post* editor Meg Greenfield's brother. Jim and I played good cop/bad cop, respectively, though we both loved our kids, probably to excess. Jim took the lead on the X's and O's of coaching, while I concentrated on discipline, physical and mental, including staying on top of schoolwork, exercise, practice, and game decorum (no foul language, no taunting, no celebrating till game's end, etc.). Our kids were from the poorest families, most of them with part-time fathers at best. So Jim and I also became surrogate "uncles" for the bulk of our kids; this entailed such things as providing meals and taking them to sporting and family events. Several kids came to my grandparents' Seder every year and even joined me on the occasional trip to Portland or Vancouver to sightsee.

We had the best young athletes in the city, but before Jim and I took over and instilled discipline, they struggled to win 50 percent of their games. Our first season we lost a tough city championship game. Then we won it for five consecutive years. What hadn't yet been termed "tough love" was working for all of us, which was remarkable given the conventional wisdom of those racially difficult days of the late '60s.

MAN, DID OUR GUYS LISTEN TO THAT SIREN SONG. THEY LIKED TO BELIEVE THAT THEY WEREN'T RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR MISBEHAVIOR, THEIR BAD GRADES, THEIR BRUSHES WITH THE LAW. WHAT KID, BLACK OR WHITE, WOULDN'T LIKE SUCH LICENSE?

Many of the older brothers of our kids were Black Panthers in a city that had as much counterculture tension as any in the United States (In 1969 Seattle had the most bombings per capita in the country.) After the spring 1968 murder of Martin Luther King, Jr., dicey situations at Rainier Playfield were all too frequent, but the two Jews and their mostly black team continued to defy the odds.

Yet by 1970 I could see that in two crucial areas we were beginning to lose the battle: drugs and education. I had been an SOB with our guys about even the mildest of substance abuse, and Coach Greenfield agreed. But about this time pop culture (*Easy Rider*, Timothy Leary, the Beatles, et al.) was telling my kids that it was a good thing to "tune in, turn on, and drop out," and man, did our guys listen to that siren song. They liked to believe that they weren't responsible for their misbehavior, their bad grades, their brushes with the law. What kid, black or white, wouldn't like such license?

LBJ was promising a war on poverty in which money to solve any social ill, real or imagined, would be virtually limitless, and I had kids tell me they flunked a test because of racism—only to discover their teacher was blacker than they. What abrogation of individual responsibility wasn't permissible under these new rules? The more I protested, the more my white liberal friends called me a reactionary; they couldn't very well call me a racist.

As my Pee Wees went off to high school, I saw them falling one by one to drugs, crime, and failing grades. Oh, not all of them failed, but most did, damn it. And the best and the brightest of our players, Erwin and Tedde, what of them? Erwin was a Harry Belafonte look-alike, a splendid athlete with two college-grad parents in an intact family. He could have played pro football or baseball, but drugs did him in. After years of addiction and prison, I recently heard that he is finally putting his shattered life together at age 40. Tedde did play college football, but drugs caught up to him too, including being shot in a gone-bad deal.

Tedde called me last Christmas and said, "Doug, you were like dads, you and Jim, and I wish I'd listened to you about education and drugs, but everybody else was saying something else. But I know you'll be proud to hear that I now have a wife and two great teenage sons, and a job as a high school coach in Kentucky. My sons won't have to pay the 'fool dues' I did."

Well, Tedde, I pray that you are right about your sons, but what about the mil-

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lions of other Erwins and Teddes who were victims of the utopianism and horrendously misguided policies of the 1960s? It will be hard stuffing that hydra-headed genie back in the bottle.

Douglas Glant is president of Glant Pacific Companies in Seattle.

Education Reform Descends on Westboro

Blake Hurst

Short, quiet, and unassuming, Mary Alice does not strike you as an inspirational teacher. But when the 38 kids at Westboro Elementary School put on their first Christmas program under Mary Alice's tutelage, I knew we had something special.

Our Christmas program is a wonderful piece of Americana, with a message that would make an ACLU lawyer salivate. The attendance is always greater than the total population of the town, and the music teacher is under as much pressure as a Texas high school football coach. But in front of the world's toughest crowd (grandmas), Mary Alice was the consummate impresario. Directing the singing, choreographing the dancing, playing the piano, and keeping the kindergartners from wandering off in mid-performance, Mary Alice managed to bring out the music in even the most tone-deaf farmer's kid.

Last summer, I fired Mary Alice.

You see, educational reform has come to Missouri. And as school board president for the Westboro elementary district (I was absent at the wrong meeting and won in a landslide), I have had to deal with the results. Missouri Senate Bill 380, the educational reform act, raised taxes, increased funding to some schools (not Westboro), and instituted various reforms to "improve" education. The reforms all measure inputs to education; none attempts to measure *results*. In fact, the statewide tests that previously rated performance will be canceled, and a vague evaluation of "outcomes" will be substituted sometime in the future—far in the future, if the professional educators have anything to say about it. Meanwhile, schools will be evaluated on teaching certificates and multicultural programs and handicapped accessibility, but not on what the students are learning.

Senate Bill 380 enforces its standards through an accreditation process. If a school fails to meet the standards, students may leave for another school district, with the district they leave paying tuition to the receiving district. Westboro failed to be accredited and lost students, forcing us to pay tuition and run a deficit.

The students who left did not cite the quality of education at Westboro as a reason for leaving. Westboro students have always done well on standardized tests. The main reason students left was the greater availability of after-school day care in the neighboring school. Since true school choice was not part of Missouri's reforms, we were not able to attract students from other districts with our small class size and individualized education.

In order to gain accreditation, we have adopted policies and procedures and curricula *ad nauseam*. In fact, our copy machine has just expired after making 57,000 copies in the past year.

Each new policy we establish has to be approved by the state. In order to assure approval, we copy our policies from a school district that has been through the approval process and simply substitute "Westboro" for the name of that school district. None of us have read the policies, since all of us are employed and can't devote full time to reading school board materials, but by golly, we've now got policies and curricula with the best of them.

Along with the paperwork, Senate Bill 380 demanded that all of our teachers have the proper teaching certificates. Because Mary Alice was not certified to teach music, she had to leave, although she did have a teacher's certificate. She has been replaced by a teacher directly out of college and possessed of the correct credential, but with none of Mary Alice's experience, charisma, or creativity. We've regained our accreditation, but the quality of education we offer is worse, and the financial drain caused by the experience will force us to ask the taxpayers for more money.

We folks in Westboro love our school. We realize it isn't efficient to run a school district with only 38 students enrolled. We can't offer many of the amenities that would be available in a larger school. Our principal also teaches kindergarten, is head librarian, and special education instructor. The social studies teacher doubles as the janitor. The school board has patched the roof when it leaked, and last winter I spent a day hanging from the second story repairing a window. Volunteers from the town repainted the library two summers ago, and we have volunteers staffing the library now in order to meet a state requirement.

TRUE EDUCATIONAL REFORM WOULD INVOLVE MORE LOCAL CONTROL, NOT LESS. AS A SCHOOL BOARD, WE NOW HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO CONTROL OVER THE SCHOOLING OUR STUDENTS RECEIVE.

We also realize that we have something special here. When my youngest son taught himself to read before entering first grade, his teacher essentially designed a course to keep him challenged. She was able to do that because there were only eight children in his class. The school is safe, and when someone misbehaves, the whole town is more than willing to offer advice.

True educational reform would involve more local control, not less. As a school board, we now have absolutely no control over the education our students receive. All hiring and firing is a function of teaching certificates and tenure. Staffing levels are decided by the state. Curricula must be approved by bureaucrats in the capital. Our only function as a school board is to sign checks and lobby for more money. One major thing stands between us and a better education for our students, and that is the State of Missouri and its program of educational reform.

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My son Ben was a candy cane in this year's edition of the Westboro school Christmas program, and there never was a finer candy cane. But the program was bittersweet for me. At our school board meeting the week before, we discovered that we will have to raise local taxes by a third next year, or close Westboro down and send our kids to the neighboring school district. We could have continued without a tax increase under the old regimen, but Senate Bill 380 has increased our costs so much that we must have a lot more money.

I don't know whether the voters will be willing to support such a large tax increase. I do know that something special will have been lost if there are no more Christmas programs in Westboro.

Blake Hurst is a Tarkio, Missouri, corn farmer.

Aspiring in the Midst of Apathy

Gaye Wagner

Skyline is an inner-city San Diego neighborhood that has been womb to my police skills. My ideals have been pricked by its thorns, my prejudices softened by its roses.

One day, the very letters of *Skyline* are the object of my "paint-out" passion as I push a roller with thick, recycled paint to blot out gang insignias that mar the landscape. The next day, the word *Skyline* evokes pride as I read that Rashaan Salaam, a neighborhood youth, has won college football's coveted Heisman Trophy. Salaam wore wristbands emblazoned "Skyline" as he rushed over 2,000 yards. He gave the media a new view of Skyline, one without the captions "drugs," "gangs," and "violence."

Through the work of law enforcement—traffic stops, crime reports, arrests, and field interviews—I've uncovered a lot about this troubled world so often hostile to my badge and me.

I've learned that seemingly innocuous hand signals communicate gang affiliation and challenge. As police, we sometimes scoop away young bodies who die over hand signs thrown boldly to the wrong person. I've learned that scars from bullet wounds are not uncommon and sometimes are even a proud badge of invincibility. I've also learned that selling drugs is often a job for the young.

"Selling drugs gets you nice things—stereos, cars. Working at Jack in the Box or McDonald's just doesn't cut it," a retired Skyline gangster once told me.

But in the midst of this most tragic "civilization", I've also discovered real bravery and heart.

First there was Cathy, who told me that if "a little white girl" wasn't afraid to be a police officer in her neighborhood, then she guessed that she could reclaim her own front lawn. Slowly she began to challenge intruders, and now eye contact, respectful requests to honor her property, and efforts to build neighborhood pride are her powerful weapons.

Then there were Marion and Lois, who humbly sought me out to apologize for turning their backs when I waved to them. They feared being seen as snitches by their neighbors. I understood and expected no different. No matter; they began to wave. A simple, yet brave act in a place where defiance toward police is expected.

There is John, who one day stood up to his son's gangster friends when they challenged my authority on his property. With his support, the need for cover officers and confrontation was averted.

There is Lisa, who opens her home to troubled foster children and crack-addicted babies. And, man, can crack babies cry. Added to that, she's raising her own four teenage boys. None of Lisa's boys have been lost to the demons of the 'hood, thanks to heavy doses of love and iron supervision.

Then there are sweet Gerry and Chuck, who stand beside me and their neighbors whenever help or support are needed. This despite the burden of a crack-addicted son whose brushes with the law are many. Once, they walked to the police station rather than have their car be seen there by neighbors. Now working hand in hand with officers has become routine.

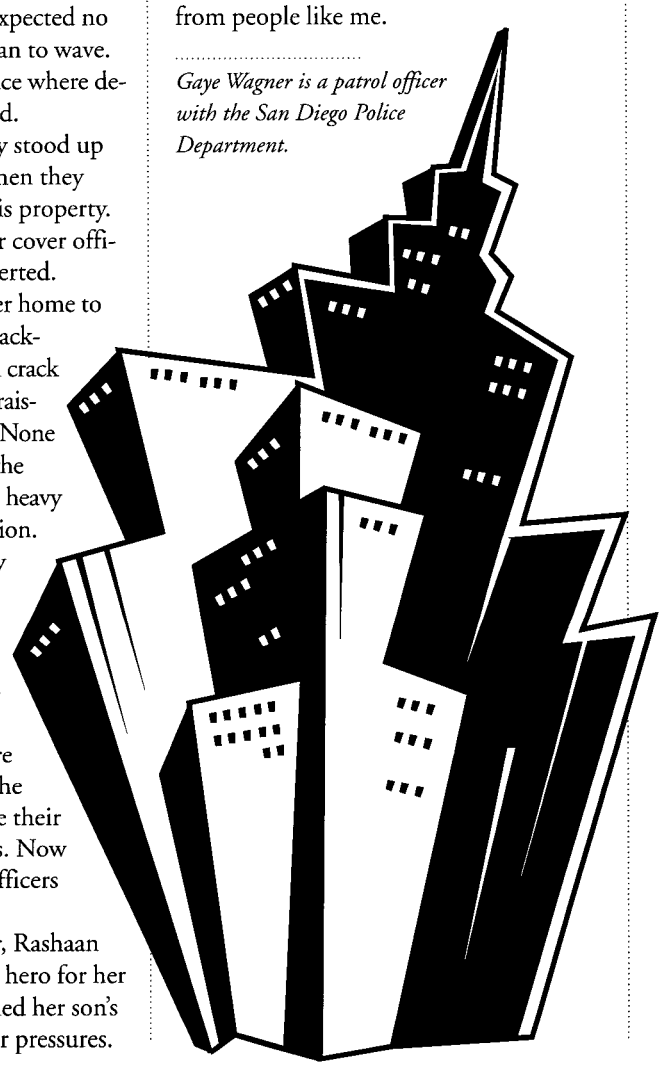
Though I've never met her, Rashaan Salaam's mother is my newest hero for her tenacity and vision. She pushed her son's mind and dreams beyond peer pressures.

THERE IS NO GREATER COURAGE THAN THE COURAGE TO ASPIRE WHEN OTHERS ALL AROUND ARE CLOAKED IN BITTERNESS, APATHY, AND ANGER.

And she hasn't limited her vision of excellence to her own son. She opened a community school so that other African-American children might benefit too.

There is no greater courage than the courage to aspire when others all around are cloaked in bitterness, apathy, and anger. No Purple Hearts or awards for this kind of courage. Just appreciation and respect from people like me.

Gaye Wagner is a patrol officer with the San Diego Police Department.



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The War in Peoria

Is the UAW about to lose its first big one?

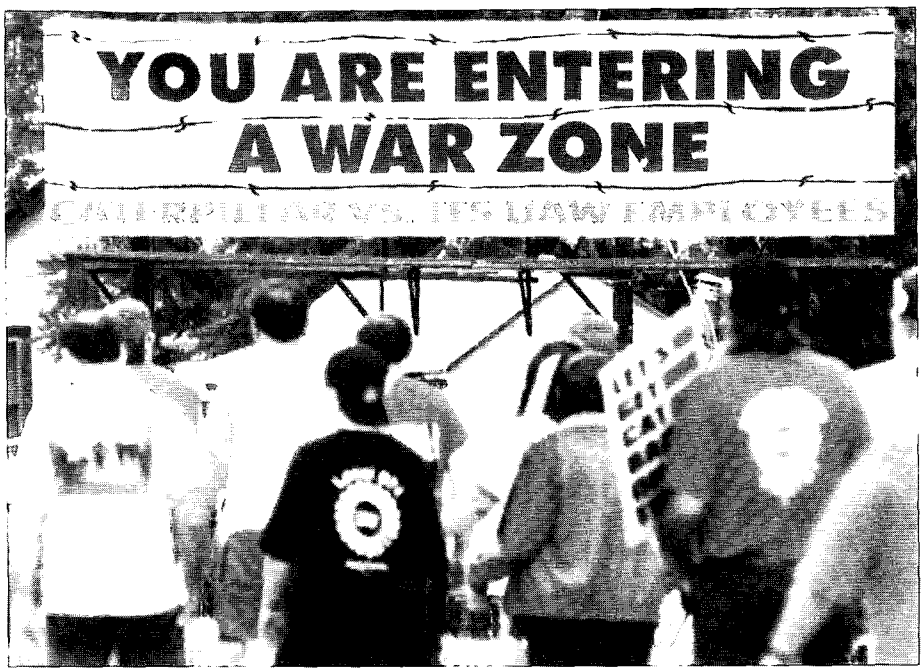
by Phillip Siekman

Fly into Peoria, exit the airport parking lot, and you'll encounter a billboard announcing Caterpillar Inc.'s pride in its headquarters city. If you continue on downtown and turn right across an Illinois River bridge, you'll be in blue-collar East Peoria, home to one of Cat's key plants. Here you might spot another, less friendly, message posted by the United Auto Workers. It warns, "You Are Entering a War Zone. Caterpillar Vs. Its UAW Workers."

You can ask whether it's the union vs. the company or the reverse. But there is no doubt that there's a war on in Peoria. Since the fall of 1991, 10 United Auto Workers walkouts or Cat lockouts have followed one after another. The current work stoppage started last June, and upward of 10,000 Cat unionists are still behind the picket lines as this is written in early 1995.

Long accustomed to having its way, the UAW seems increasingly likely to lose this one. Like all industrial unions, the UAW has taken its lumps over the last 20 years—with national membership falling from 1.6 million in 1970 to a current level of some 825,000. But while unions in other industries have given ground on wages, benefits, and work rules in order to preserve jobs, the UAW has fiercely defended pay and seniority practices, and it has insisted on extremely good deals for laid-off workers. In Peoria, though, it appears the union is finally going to have to bend in some new places.

In many ways, Caterpillar and the UAW seem typecast for the task of haggling out the central labor market question of the 1990s—which University of Kentucky professor Richard Edwards poses this way: "In an internationally competitive economy, how can the employer's need for flexibility in its operations be reconciled with workers' legitimate aspirations for…a fair deal at work?" After some dark and threatening days, Caterpillar has traded fat for muscle throughout the company structure. It has improved designs and raised the quality of its products. Aided by a weak dollar, it has become one of America's top three or four net exporters ($3.6 billion in 1993), and left competitors like Komatsu, Hitachi and several Europeans panting behind. After losses in 1991 and 1992 the company turned a profit in 1993. And the really stunning results came in 1994—despite the strike, sales topped $14.3 billion and after-tax profits leaped to a record $978 million.



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In the opposite corner is a union that has come a long way from an earlier image of thick-necked recalcitrance and violence. At Saturn and the GM/Toyota joint venture known as NUMMI, the UAW has led the move from industrial confrontation to cooperation. Richard Edwards calls it "a union that has tried pretty hard or, at least, parts of it have tried pretty hard, to figure out how to get into the 21st century."

At one point, the UAW seemed to be trying extra hard at Caterpillar. During the '80s, its leadership acquiesced in layoffs that brought union membership at the company from a peak 40,000 in 1979 to less than 15,000. On the plant floor, the union members who survived took an enthusiastic lead in quality circles and productivity improvement sessions.

The makeover wasn't without pain. Jerry Brown, now president of Caterpillar's largest UAW local, recalls, "People I've known all my life got laid off because we did things to help Caterpillar become globally competitive." The hurt extended beyond production lines deep into corporate offices—every third white collar job

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was eliminated—and plant towns as a whole felt the effects. Unemployment in greater Peoria eventually topped 8 percent. Today, there are about as many jobs in the Peoria area as there were in the late 1970s, but more are at places like the 1,000-employee gambling ship now floating on the Illinois River. The average hourly wage for non-Cat workers in greater Peoria is now about half of Cat's starting rate of $17.05. When the company calls for temps and new hires to cross picket lines, a lot of locals answer.

Sometime in 1990, the cooperative atmosphere on the shop floor started to change. The union says the shift dates from the day Donald V. Fites, now 61, became chairman and CEO. A civil engineer with a masters in management and an international career with the company, Fites once expressed the view to an interviewer that a union "blocks communication channels and adds a layer of inefficiency to the organization." If that didn't worry union leaders, his actions did. Determined to tune Cat for international battles, Fites pushed for more outsourcing, more flexibility in work rules, and fewer positions—all threats to much cherished union practices and privileges.

Cat/UAW relations have rarely been harmonious, but in the immediate period before Fites took over Caterpillar had signed two UAW contracts in a row without a strike—the first time that had happened in over 30 years. Though it was an era of labor peace, a company negotiator does not recall it happily. "Caterpillar," he says, "decided that agreeing to the union's posture was the lesser of several evils." By seeming to roll over on union command, though, the company raised costs as well as UAW expectations. Profits declined for two years and then evaporated completely.

So did union hopes. Through 1991, tensions mounted. By 1992, the confrontation had become a full strike. That round ended with a whipped union skulking back to work without a contract. Some union members, suspecting that the union was grandstanding in Peoria for an audience in Detroit, muttered darkly about decertifying. Striving for a resurgence of solidarity, the UAW initiated a provocative, in-plant campaign of signs, union buttons, and T-shirts emblazoned with impolite comments about Fites and Cat leadership.

As intended, this overwhelmed the self control of some of Cat's floor supervision, and the union drew a lot of fouls. Over 120 National Labor Relations Board complaints against the company cover a flood of alleged unfair labor practices—illegal suspensions, discharges, preferential treatment of people who crossed picket lines. So far, judicial rulings on the complaints have tended to run against the company—which now uses words like "absolute bias" and "absurd position" when talking about the NLRB.

The plant campaign got the UAW what it wanted. "Them" and "us" lines were drawn. Previously serious intra-union dissension largely disappeared. When another company-wide strike was called in 1994, almost all UAW members walked out.

The union characterizes the current action as an unfair labor practices strike—for important tactical reasons. You see, Cat broke the 1992 strike by threatening, legally, to replace workers who did not return to work. But federal labor law prohibits permanent replacement of workers in any strike which is being waged over unfair labor practices. So for months, the union said it would talk only if the unfair labor practices were the first order of business. Cat countered that the contract was the real issue, and this is certainly true. While Cat's supervisors probably stepped over some legal lines in dealing with union provocations, the contract and not plant floor behavior remains the real bone of contention.

The core issue in the Cat-UAW dispute is the union's demand for a "pattern" labor contract. This is a dearly held union doctrine which demands that all domestic companies in a given industry sign essentially the same labor contract, so there can be no competition among them to reduce labor costs. In practice, the UAW lumps Caterpillar with such firms as John Deere, Case-IH, and the Big Three automakers. And pattern bargaining includes not only wage rates, but also many workplace details like seniority rights and job transfer procedures. Sometimes scratching and screeching, Cat accepted pattern bargaining for years, passing the costs along to where they were, as one executive puts it, "eaten by the food chain."

"Pattern" has worked for the union, obviously. But company managers have often found it easy as well. General Motors didn't much need to strain against labor cost increases so long as it knew they would also be borne by Ford and Chrysler.

But of course foreign competitors don't have to worry about pattern contracts. Union signs may shout "DEERE IS CAT TO ME," but Caterpillar knows its true competitors are Japanese and Germans out on the far reaches of the global market.

Asked what the company would do if it were forced by the current strike to accept "pattern," a Cat executive replies, "We would have to move elsewhere, relocate some of our facilities outside this country or in this country." The UAW insists that Cat could never abandon its Midwest plants, but the company has been opening factories in non-union areas of the United States and shifting production overseas for some time. Perhaps recognizing as much, union negotiators have dropped the word "pattern" from their vocabulary, even as they continue to insist on the key practices encompassed by the term.

Both the union and the management sides would have observers believe that the main disagreement is over wages. "Pattern" wages, Caterpillar executives say, will not allow the company to compete with the Japanese. But surely they realize Japanese wages are no longer much different from U.S. rates. Likewise, the UAW is reaching when it contends that Caterpillar wants to impoverish the working class. Nine out of 10 UAW people at Cat make over $40,000 a year, nearly a third better than the U.S. median. And when pressed, both sides admit that the negotiating gap on hourly wages can be measured in pennies.

There are other monetary issues, but they are hardly bleeders. One false schism concerns Cat's unilateral institution of a

Phillip Siekman, a former member of Fortune *magazine's Board of Editors, has managed public and private companies.*

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preferred provider health plan. Since the plan is fully paid by Cat, the union is reduced to complaining that it wasn't consulted. Pensions are another place where determined negotiators ought to be able to come to an agreement. For "30 years and out" retirees, the company has offered $1,800 a month until early Social Security payments kick in. "Pattern" is $2,100. Cat has already signed a contract with the machinists' union under which the $2,100 level will be reached in 1998.

On the economic side, a Cat executive admits, there are no "show stoppers." But on "right to manage" issues, union practices collide thunderously with management's perceived needs. Some union demands for control over plant decisions are large and sweeping. One is for the right to strike against outsourcing—the farming out of pieces, processes, and parts production to other (possibly non-union) suppliers. The most contentious matter of all is job protection. Cat is willing to provide job security by name—guaranteeing employment for every individual now on the payroll for at least six years. The union wants security by position—meaning fixed numbers of people in specified jobs.

The automakers have given ground on position security. But as Caterpillar management is quick to point out, this is the clause that wreaked havoc on GM in the recent past, and which may damage the company again in the next sales downturn. If the UAW would set aside its concerns about the security of the union in favor of the security of union members now in the plant, the impasse at Cat could be broken. It would also help if Cat would take some additional risks to, as one economist puts it, "share the growth dividend." If, for instance, the company extended its security-by-name offer to 10 years, half of its current UAW members, including many hardened activists, would have a guaranteed path to an easy 30-year retirement.

Conflicts between workers seeking security and a global company needing flexibility in use of its labor force are obviously not unique to the Caterpillar-UAW drama. In July, one month after the current Cat-UAW rupture, 4,200 United Rubber Workers struck tiremaker Bridgestone/Firestone after the company rejected pattern bargaining. (As these words are written in the strike's seventh month, nearly a thousand union members have crossed picket lines to return to work, and some 2,300 others have been permanently replaced by the company.) John Deere, headquartered in Moline, not far from Peoria, is likewise embroiled with the UAW over a contract that expired in September 1994. A bit further away in Detroit, one can be sure that there are other managers carefully watching the events in Peoria. Will Caterpillar's apparent upper hand encourage stiffer resistance to union demands among automakers?

While the Cat-UAW conflict centers around important universal issues, in Peoria the lines are especially clear cut, and the opponents well matched. Both company and union have major intellectual and financial resources, as well as compelling reasons to come to an understanding. The knowledge, skills and commitment needed to survive, let alone prosper, in international business today must be found on the plant floor as well as in the office towers. Noting that "the wave of the future is cooperation," union local president Brown asks, "What the hell are they going to do when they get that workforce back in there? Who's going to cooperate?"

Unfortunately, civility has long since gone missing in this dispute. In 1992, auto union president Owen Bieber appeared before a UAW national convention, remembered Eastern Airlines, mentioned Caterpillar, and informed his audience: "We have to send a message to companies that if they are unwilling to treat their workers fairly, then I say without hesitation that those companies don't really have any basis for existence." Not unreasonably, Caterpillar chose to view this as a mortal threat.

Since then, each side has cranked up the volume of accusation, charge, and countercharge. A union official talks about "a ruthless company that is out to bust the union." A Cat officer claims that Caterpillar and its workers are being sacrificed by a union whose real intent is to send a message to automakers. Glenn Zipp, director of the NLRB's Peoria-based Region 33, says it reminds him of *The War of the Roses*, a movie tale of marital dispute that escalates into an orgy of violence.

Labor-management negotiations often improve dramatically when one side begins to hurt. In Peoria, neither admits to pain. At $300 a week plus fully-paid insurance for each striker, the monthly bill for the UAW international probably totals some $20 million. Cat workers, however, represent less than 2 percent of the membership of a union with a strike fund that currently exceeds $900 million. Individual workers might be hurting. The union is not.

For its part, Caterpillar actually has its giant yellow machines and industrial engines flowing out the door in record quantities. With much of the experienced work force missing in seven key U.S. plants, production stumbled in the summer of 1994, as you would expect. But it recovered amazingly quickly, as managers (who had been rehearsing a strike for some time) pushed certain operations out to suppliers, increased production in overseas and non-UAW factories, hired skilled temporary workers, and put 6,000 executives, engineers, pensioners, secretaries, and sales personnel on the plant floor. By early fall, production was higher than it had been before the strike.

With roughly half the Illinois salaried staff detailed to factory jobs, customer service, product development, and other tasks were neglected. Yet customers had few complaints. Sales increased. Profits improved.

It's beginning to look like the war is over, with the union trapped between the company's paws. Cat will continue to hire new workers in the guise of temps, a stream of line crossers will bleed out of the union as wives fear for their retirement dreams and tire of macaroni and cheese dinners. Eventually, the plants will be restaffed, the administrative workers will go back to their offices, and life will go on without the UAW. Hard core union people will stay out ("not a bad self-selection system," gloats one Cat executive), and the legal battle over labor practices will drone through the courts for a decade.

And Detroit will ponder what to make of it all.

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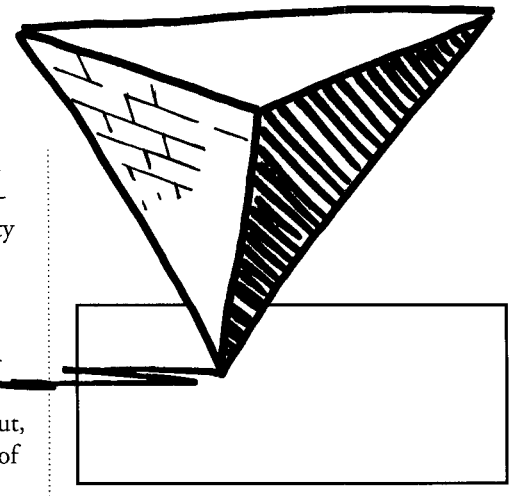
the Decentralist Economist

The Fear of Letting Go

by Michael Rothschild



"We don't want Congress to replace liberal prescriptions with conservative prescriptions," said Iowa's Governor Terry Branstad. "And we don't want to see federal bureaucrats replace liberal micromanagement with conservative micromanagement." Nice sound bites. But when you get down to it, can we fix our troubled society without designing new policies and then building the congressional coalitions needed to turn those blueprints into federal law? Isn't that the way it's always been done?

Actually, no. Before the living memory of current generations, public policy in the United States was made almost exclusively by states and localities. Indeed, as anyone even casually acquainted with the drafting of the U.S. Constitution will recall, the crux of the problem facing the Founders was to design a federal government strong enough to repel foreign threats and prevent inter-state conflicts, and yet too weak to ever consolidate power unto itself. The Founders' solution was a decentralized federation of near-sovereign states linked by a federal government that had been granted only a few specified powers.

James Madison, chief architect of the Constitution, was certain that the states would never lose their primacy to the central government. In *Federalist* 45, he wrote:

> The powers delegated by the proposed Constitution to the federal government are few and defined. Those which are to remain in the state governments are numerous and indefinite. The former will be exercised principally on external objects, as war, peace, negotiation, and foreign commerce.... The powers reserved to the several states will extend to all the objects which, in the ordinary course of affairs, concern the lives, liberties, and properties of the people; and the internal order, improvement, and prosperity of the state.

What went wrong? How could the most brilliant group of political philosophers ever assembled have messed up so badly? Simply put, the Founders never expected the arrival of the highly centralized Machine Age.

James Watt invented the steam engine in 1776, but his device didn't much transform daily life until 1828 when Charles Carroll inaugurated construction of America's first railroad, the Baltimore & Ohio. As many historians have noted, the Civil War was at root a clash between two epochs of human history. The ancient agricultural society of the South was pitted against the emerging machine society of the North. After four horrific years, the sheer productive power of the new system overwhelmed the old.

The wild binge of railroad building that followed the Civil War utterly transformed American society. By slashing the cost of transporting people and goods, smoke-belching locomotives running along steel rails linked previously isolated farming villages and seacoast towns into an economically integrated continental nation. By the end of the nineteenth century, virtually everything that gave texture to daily life from the great industrial cities of the East to the farms, ranches, lumber camps, and mines of the West was made feasible by the railroad technology unimaginable to the Founding Fathers.

Unavoidably, the rise of the railroads undermined the decentralized vision of America's Founders. For a railroad to be profitable, it must minimize its investment in tracks while maximizing the traffic flowing over those tracks. Arranging the tracks to feed into and out of a central hub is the obvious solution, and the railroad magnates who grasped the inescapable economics of their technology drove their competitors out of business, consolidated traffic through their own hubs, and eventually wielded unprecedented power over broad geographic regions. For the first time, the scale of private power had begun to outstrip the authority of individual states.

To match this consolidation of economic might, governmental power also began shifting to the center—despite the intentions of the Founders and the language of the Constitution. In 1887, a century after the Philadelphia Convention, the Interstate Commerce Commission was established to control freight rates charged by the railroads that had come to dominate certain hubs. To this day, the rationale for the ICC is depicted by a huge mural in the Commission's Washington, D.C. headquarters showing a map of the United States webbed by rail lines conjoined at a handful of strategic hubs.

In the century since the ICC's establishment, the Progressive Era has given way to the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the Great Society, and so on right down to the latest edict of the Environmental Pro-

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tection Agency—with the centralization of government power going virtually unchecked. The states have been reduced to little more than supplicants, branch offices of the Beltway monolith, annually doling out billions of strings-attached federal dollars. James Madison must be spinning in his grave.

But now, all of a sudden, the twentieth century's centralizing juggernaut, like the locomotive that began it all, seems to have run out of steam. In the space of just six weeks in the autumn of 1994, the American people derailed President Clinton's health care plan, the next logical step in the consolidation of federal power, and broke the Democratic party's control of Congress. For the first time since the post-Civil War era, serious people of all political persuasions are beginning to ponder what's needed to reestablish a decentralized federal republic.

From welfare to health care to environmental protection, there is an emerging sentiment that solutions to today's complex problems cannot be designed or delivered by Washington. Where centrally designed and controlled federal programs once implied modernity, rationality, and fairness, today they conjure up only wasteful bureaucracy, Kafkaesque regulation, and one-size-fits-all mass production. Pragmatic to the bone, the American people have concluded that, whatever the theory, the federal government simply can't deliver results.

Why this sudden change of heart? It wasn't all that long ago that the great majority of Americans supported the Great Society's expansion of federal powers. One is tempted to argue that it took only a few decades of standing in line at the local post office and Social Security bureau to finally sour Americans on the notion that Washington knew what it was doing. But a fair reading of the evidence suggests that the Postal Service and the Social Security Administration, whatever their failings, still deliver better service than they have in the past.

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From the viewpoint of a consumer or voter, though, the test is not whether an organization has improved over time. The only relevant measure is whether that organization outperforms its current rivals. Consider two mundane, but telling, tests: If you had to trace a missing package, would you rather deal with the U.S. Post Office or Federal Express? If you had to correct an error on your retirement account, would you rather deal with Social Security or your mutual fund?

BEFORE THE LIVING MEMORY OF CURRENT GENERATIONS, PUBLIC POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES WAS MADE ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY BY STATES AND LOCALITIES. NOW STATES HAVE BEEN REDUCED TO LITTLE MORE THAN BRANCH OFFICES OF THE BELTWAY MONOLITH, ANNUALLY DOLING OUT BILLIONS OF STRINGS-ATTACHED FEDERAL DOLLARS. JAMES MADISON MUST BE SPINNING IN HIS GRAVE.

Twenty years ago, these questions would have been toss-ups. Back then, virtually all large organizations, private as well as public, were hopelessly bureaucratic and insensitive to the needs of individual customers. Designed for mass production, these hierarchies were simply incapable of responding to individual requests. Getting General Motors to resolve a consumer complaint was only marginally easier than getting a straight answer from the IRS. But then, without warning, a new technology changed everything.

In 1971, the first microprocessor—a computer on a sliver of silicon—emerged from the lab of a California startup named Intel. By 1982, millions of Intel microprocessors were sprouting on American desktops in the form of IBM personal computers. Millions more microchips showed up inside fax machines, cellphones, voicemail systems, communications satellites, and thousands of other devices. By 1989, after years of modest growth, the volume of fax and e-mail traffic began heading straight up. The Information Age began in earnest as the Berlin Wall collapsed.

Just as the railroads had slashed the cost of transporting people and goods, the microprocessor drastically reduced the cost of manipulating information. In the years since Intel's breakthrough, the cost of handling a unit of information has plunged nearly 10 million-fold. Never before in human history has the cost of anything dropped so precipitously.

The economics of cheap communication are reversing the economics of cheap transportation. No central node dominates an information network. Fiber, cable, copper, cellular, direct satellite, and whatever comes next make the previous advantage of a central strategic hub a relic of our past.

The microprocessor has also demolished the centralized, Machine Age organization. Ask the millions of white collar refugees from IBM, GM, AT&T, Sears, etc. Could the work they used to do by hand be done today without vast interconnected webs of microprocessors? Could L.L. Bean or your bank instantly answer your inquiry without scads of cheap computing power? Would American suburbs and rural areas be gaining jobs and population at such a torrid pace without cheap long-distance calls, faxes, e-mail and—coming soon—desktop videoconferences?

In short, more than a century of seemingly unstoppable centralizing trends were thrown into reverse by the computer-on-a-chip, and the Machine Age is as much undone as the Agricultural Age was before it.

Along with centralization, the other major casualty of the Information Age is

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the Machine Age mindset, the belief that problems of any complexity can be solved by logic and clever engineering. In his brilliant 1949 essay, "The Intellectuals and Socialism," F. A. Hayek illumined the error:

> There can be little doubt that the manner in which during the last hundred years man has learned to organize the forces of nature has contributed a great deal toward the creation of the belief that a similar control of the forces of society would bring comparable improvements in human conditions. That, with the application of engineering techniques, the direction of all forms of human activity according to a single coherent plan should prove to be as successful in society as it has been in innumerable engineering tasks, is too plausible a conclusion not to seduce most of those who are elated by the achievement of the natural sciences.

The very essence of the engineering approach is the belief that a solution can be designed in advance of actually seeing the solution in action. One doesn't build 20 different versions of the Golden Gate Bridge to see which design works best. A brilliant engineer, working with little more than a few formulas, derives the optimal solution to the problem and reduces it to a final design. Every problem can be solved, if the engineer is smart enough and the resources are available to implement his blueprint.

Or at least that was the way the world appeared to work during the Machine Age. But in the new epoch, the complexity of many problems defies *a priori* engineering. For example, the 2 million lines of software that control AT&T's long-distance network were not designed by one person, or even a single group. The computer code evolved over many years, almost organically, recording lessons learned from trial and error, including that disastrous day a few years back when three lines of code triggered a cascade of network shutdowns.

Try to find the architect of the Internet. Given all the press the Internet has enjoyed of late, his name should be a household word. Failing that, identify the individual or team now in control of the Internet. A Machine Age mind cannot abide the notion that the Internet spontaneously organized itself, like some biological system. But that is precisely what happened.

No one involved in the early days of what has become the Internet knew how the whole system would work. But individuals and small groups kept experimenting with programming techniques and communications protocols. Those that worked best became *de facto* standards, at least until some other unauthorized inventor came up with something better. Evolution, not intentional design, holds sway in an information-drenched world of numbing complexity. No single architect can solve such problems. Solutions must emerge from the competitive/cooperative intelligence of many minds engaged in feverish experimentation.

More than anything else, it was the failure to appreciate this new reality that doomed the Clinton health care plan. Instead of creating a process of continuous experimentation by many competing private innovators, the Health Care Task Force sought to draw the ultimate social engineering blueprint and turn it into law. The details of the Clinton plan were irrelevant. No plan, however brilliant, can solve the medical needs of 260 million individual Americans, especially in a time of stunning technological change. Like the Internet, solutions to our social dilemmas must *evolve* in the Information Age.

It is not clear that the Republicans now running Congress have grasped this fundamental lesson. In the opening days of the welfare reform debate, one House Republican staffer criticized the radical decentralizers by saying, "What some of the governors want is for us to put the federal money on a stump in the middle of a forest in the dead of night." There is a bit of the social engineer's hubris in that statement, an implication that someone out there is smart enough to dictate appropriate constraints on 50 state experiments.

But in truth, no one knows what new welfare rules will work best. Should AFDC be cut-off "cold turkey" after one or two years? Should benefits be phased out gradually? Will what works in the Ozarks work in Chicago? The only way to find out is to avoid federal preconditions that limit the discretion of local authorities. Fumbling, at times wasteful, experiments by thousands of localities will yield more unexpected victories than the most diligent congressional deliberations—because in the face of bewildering complexity, the only viable strategy is extreme decentralization and incessant innovation.

But the Machine Age mindset, on both Left and Right, dies hard. On welfare and a host of other issues, useless legislative battles will be fought over the exact limits on each state's freedom to deviate from a national norm. This is unfortunate, for in order for experiments to be productive, they must have the freedom to fail.

Letting go of central control will take time. It will require wider appreciation of the spontaneous, self-organizing properties of complex, decentralized systems. Such principles may be antithetical to the Machine Age thinking we are now leaving behind. They are, however, the very essence of the Constitution that upholds American society.

TRY TO FIND THE ARCHITECT OF THE INTERNET. TRY TO IDENTIFY THE INDIVIDUAL OR TEAM NOW IN CONTROL OF THE INTERNET. A MACHINE AGE CENTRALIZING MIND CANNOT ABIDE THE NOTION THAT THE INTERNET SPONTANEOUSLY ORGANIZED ITSELF, LIKE SOME BIOLOGICAL SYSTEM. BUT THAT IS PRECISELY WHAT HAPPENED.

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Flashback

TO KNOW NOTHING OF WHAT HAPPENED

BEFORE YOU WERE BORN IS TO REMAIN EVER A CHILD—*Cicero*

JFK + LBJ = NEA

Ah, Camelot. Those days of yore when the Harvard sophisticate John F. Kennedy and his elegant *recherché* wife brought culture to the White House. "Thank you for restoring to the United States the pleasures and powers of the mind," gushed Lincoln Kirstein to the new president. "What a joy that literacy is no longer *prima facie* evidence of treason," fawned John Steinbeck. Even Robert Frost, a Grover Cleveland Democrat with a finely calibrated nonsense detector, rejoiced that "the arts, poetry [are] now for the first time taken into the affairs of statesmen."

(Never mind that ambidextrous James Garfield translated verse into Latin and Greek simultaneously; Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson actually *wrote* books that bore their names; and as a young man Calvin Coolidge translated Dante's *Inferno*.)

Pablo Casals, Leonard Bernstein, Igor Stravinsky, Andre Malraux, George Balanchine, and Elia Kazan were among the stars who fell on the Kennedy White House. (William Faulkner declined an invitation because Washington was "too far to go for supper.")

As Gore Vidal noted, Kennedy "knows the propaganda value of artists and he has…tried to win them over." Marian Anderson sang at his inauguration; Frost recited; the audience included poets (W. H. Auden) and critics (Allen Tate) and philosophers (Jacques Maritain).

And yet…

"He had no interest in opera, dozed off at symphony concerts, and was bored by ballet," ghostwriter Ted Sorensen recalled of JFK. After enduring a performance by the Bolshoi Ballet, Kennedy groused to an aide, "I don't want my picture taken shaking hands with all those Russian fairies."

Old Joe Kennedy once lectured his boy (in Sinclair Lewisese), "You would be surprised how a book that really makes the grade with the high-class people stands you in good stead for years to come." The aptly named Arthur Krock of the *New York Times* duly assisted the young scholar in turning his senior thesis into the somnolent *Why England Slept* (1940). A later book to which Jack contributed his name, *Profiles in Courage*, won the Pulitzer Prize. But the question arises: Why did an arrant philistine, and his boorish successor to the presidency, inflict the National Endowment for the Arts upon their countrymen? Was it to co-opt artists? To buy off potential critics? To purchase hipness?

The pacification of troublesome artists had been a rationale for the state as Maecenas since the WPA of the 1930s, when Federal Art Project functionary Audrey McMahon boasted, "Artists, men of talent and of highly sensitive natures, men who form part of a large group which might easily, under adverse and difficult conditions, become a distinct social problem, have not only been kept from final distress, but their gifts have been directed into the channel of public benefit."

The list of unappeaseables, however, stretches from Faulkner to Robert Lowell: painter John Sloan spoke for them in 1944 when he cracked, "Sure, it would be fine to have a Ministry of the Fine Arts in this country. Then we'd know where the enemy is."

Another enemy—the Soviet Union—was a godsend to those who desired a Ministry of the Fine Arts. "The Soviet drive in the fine arts field finds the U.S. at present without a counteroffensive," warned a 1952 government report. New Jersey Congressman Frank Thompson was the fugelman of the cultural Cold Warriors. "The sooner we can implement a program of selling our culture to the uncommitted people of the world as a weapon, the better off we are," he boomed in 1956. (Thompson—"Mister Culture," legendary Iowa skinflint H. R. Gross dubbed him—later left Congress to go on another kind of dole: he was ensnared in the FBI's Abscam sting and did time in a place whose denizens prefer Johnny Cash to John Cage.)

Of course there were dissenters, John Sloan-ish slackers who regarded art as something more than a colorful arrow in the Dulles brothers' quiver. In 1957 sculptors Wheeler Williams and Adlai S. Hardin appeared before Frank Thompson's subcommittee. Williams averred, "The true artist is perforce a rugged individualist and does not want to be kept poodle by the government with dilettante experts as nursemaids." Hardin added a warning against "supervision, direction, conformity, and the danger of subsidizing the support of mediocrity."

The sculptors' fears were not shared in the "pay any price, bear any burden" Kennedy administration. The president, a gelid Cold Warrior who scorned Ike as a near-pacifist, gave away the game when he told the *New York Times*, "I think it is tremendously important that we regard music not just as part of our arsenal in the Cold War, but as an integral part of a free society." In the spring of 1963 JFK's executive order created an Advisory Council on the Arts. Then came November in Dallas, and a Texas vulgarian replaced the Cézanne-lovers in the White House.

Appealing to the aesthete in LBJ was not a promising tack. So one week after the assassination, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., sent the president a memo urging LBJ's support for a federal arts program. Subsidy "can strengthen the connections between the administration and the intellectual and artistic community," noted Schlesinger, "something not to be dismissed when victory or defeat next fall will probably depend on who carries New York, Pennsylvania, California, Illinois, and Michigan." And so an endowment was born.

Art as Cold War weapon soon gave way to art as pork. Poets filled out grant applications. Andres Serrano's urine and Karen Finley's vegetables filled "the channel of public benefit." Then the Soviet Empire crumbled.

Who says government doesn't work?

—Bill Kauffman

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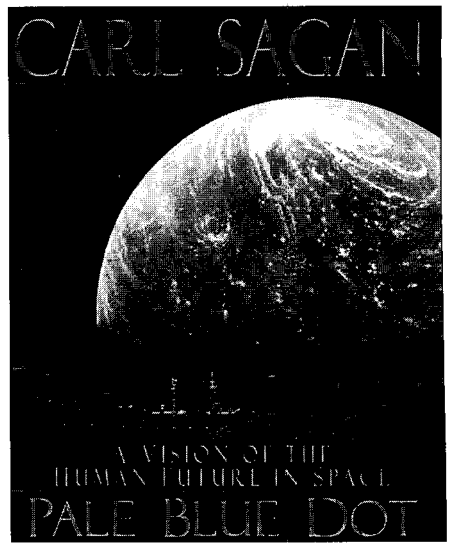
BookTalk



The Hubris and the Glory

Frederick Turner

Pale Blue Dot
By Carl Sagan
(New York: Random House) 448 pages,
$35 paper, $45 cloth

The fundamental issue in Carl Sagan's new book *Pale Blue Dot* is a religious one: What is the meaning of the universe and what is the human role in it? Of course a book of popular science cannot answer these ancient questions, but Sagan's view of the matter is an articulate and respectable one that is held by many scientists, and it is worth consideration.

Most readers of this book, however, will be interested in it for other reasons. It offers many of the pleasures one can remember from boys' books of astronomy back in the fifties and sixties, when we dreamed of interplanetary adventures and strange dawns on alien worlds. *Pale Blue Dot* is an updated tour of the solar system for the layperson, with some remarks on the local galaxy and the observable universe as a whole. It contains almost all of the classic photographic images of the moons and planets, obtained by ground telescopes, Shuttle and Apollo astronauts, the Hubble, and various planetary probes, together with some fine imagined scenes by the best space artists. Included are interesting blow-by-blow accounts of the unmanned missions Sagan has taken part in, good elementary discussions of the possibilities for past and future life outside this planet, cautious speculations about the future of space exploration and colonization, and an extended treatment of the danger to the Earth of asteroid impacts.

Though Sagan is a first-class scientist with a broad and deserved reputation in many sub-fields, he is here fulfilling his valuable role as a responsible and lucid popularizer. The book is not, nor was it intended to be, a report on the cutting edge of space science; there are scarcely any numbers in it, and no equations. Even fairly simple technical matters are avoided, such as the details of the ingenious plans that Robert Zubrin, the Martin Marietta engineer, has put forward for Mars exploration, or the fine work on ecopoesis (bringing a dead planet to life) that has been done by the likes of Robert Haynes, Christopher McKay, and Martyn Fogg.

What the book is, centrally, is an argument for continued space research and space travel, in the face of its great cost and little tangible profit. It is an argument that is tempered by the new mood of academic nihilism, ecological self-flagellation, and political correctness, but which still has the ring of the great human scientific adventure. Sagan is plainly trying to stay on the good side of the harpies of the postmodern academy, and all his more optimistic and ambitious suggestions carry disclaimers about the hubris of Western Christian males. But the harpies should not be deceived. Under Sagan's veneer of polite guilt there is the unreconstructed honor of the scientist, the boyish glory of the engineer. The very fact that he believes in good science, that real truth can be approached (if not ever fully attained) by reason and experiment, puts him back with the rest of us primitives. True poststructuralists believe that science is nothing more than a social construction designed to justify the power of the ruling white male heterosexual elites.

Not that Sagan is any friend of contemporary religious or political conservatism. He is, essentially, a man of the Enlightenment, like the fathers of our nation. He admires Voltaire and quotes him frequently in the book. He shares Voltaire's scorn for traditional religion and politics, attacking the hubris of old world views that placed the Earth and the human race at the physical or metaphysical center of the universe. Space science has, he says, "deprovincialized" us in a series of demotions from our self-styled position as God's darlings in a universe custom-made for our benefit. In classic village-atheist style he prefers "hard truth" to comforting superstition. One might point out that he ignores the traditional Judeo-Christian humility before God, and replaces the hubris of Man the beloved of God with the hubris of Man the knower, Man the scientist.

But Sagan's awe and humility before the grandeur of the universe and its astonishing history as revealed by science is quite genuine, and its kinship with religious worship should be recognized by the more traditionally religious. Like the Jansenist Pascal, he is terrified, exalted, and driven to religious meditation by the silence of those immense spaces. We live in a society whose cultural and academic elites seem now to be incapable of wonder, or indeed of recognizing anything of value beyond the power interests of their own ethnic or sexual faction. Sagan has been frequently attacked by the religious, and turnabout is indeed fair play, since he does not mince his own words. But perhaps this quarrel is now a narcissism of small differences. Sagan himself suggests that a new religion might combine the traditional ethical concerns of religion with the new scientific cosmology. And he too

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recognizes the spiritual starvation of our young, and their need for grand human enterprises that call forth sacrifice, dedication, and commitment to something beyond pleasure and power.

What I find lacking in the world view of this book is not so much a tolerance for the rich and beautiful traditions of human art, metaphysics, and religion—intolerance of this kind is frequent among scientists, part of an endearing *déformation professionelle,* like the symphony musician's hatred of saxophones. The lack is something that comes with the eighteenth-century Enlightenment *Weltanschauung,* and it is rooted in the brilliant linear mathematics of Newton, Leibniz, and Descartes. Enlightenment science, with its strict separation of the roles of observer and observed, its universal laws of physics, its clear demarcation of cause and effect, its straight lines and continuous curves, and its conception of the world as a majestic piece of clockwork (slowly running down), has enabled us to perform miracles of celestial marksmanship, placing probes and landers within inches of their targets millions of miles away. So successful was that approach that it took until the last 30 years or so to begin to recognize how rare are the conditions in the universe for simple linear processes. Today many scientists see the regimes of classical linear causality as the precarious and temporary achievements of a fundamentally chaotic, nonlinear universe, a universe fecund with emergent structures and new forms of order, an open universe that is neither predictable nor running down.

Pale Blue Dot, however, is deeply uneasy with anything that smacks of the nonlinear. It does not mention the curious role of the observer in quantum physics, wherein the knower and the known help to precipitate each other's reality—and thus its hostile dismissal of John Wheeler's Cosmological Anthropic Principle lacks a decisive argument. The book avoids any discussion of the self-organizing dissipative systems that are an increasingly important part of cosmological physics and evolutionary biology. It does not explore the technological promise of self-reproducing—or even self-refueling—machines, and the prospects for identifying and using runaway positive feedback processes in planetary engineering. Its optimistic internationalism ignores the dangers of runaway political processes where there are no alternatives to a single regime, and the homeostatic and self-stabilizing advantages of multiple local authorities. Its model is the Cartesian logic of math-physics, rather than the Aristotelian logic of biology and embryology; it concentrates on material and efficient causes, rather than formal and final ones.

Thus the world view of this book is more impressed with the abstract measures of time and space, according to which we are indeed an utterly insignificant speck in the universe, than with other measures, such as density of information, reflexiveness, intensity of communication, and sensitivity to the outside world. If we were to draw a map or a time-chart of the universe using these latter measures, this tiny world of DNA and humans would suddenly bulk very large indeed, like Japan, Java, and Britain in those odd world maps that are based on population rather than spatial distance. The book is especially ambivalent about the role of intelligence in the universe; on one hand, it wants to deprovincialize us of our anthropocentrism; but on the other, it expresses a justifiable pride in scientific achievement. Perhaps the answer is to celebrate the mental reflectiveness of human and other sentient beings as the greatest known achievement of the natural universe—but this would feel too much like teleology and self-congratulation for the general tenor of the book.

Pale Blue Dot contains an appealing element of autobiography; Sagan meditates on his own youthful attraction to science and on the history of his European immigrant family. This impulse toward the reflective, that is, the nonlinear, might bear fruit if it were infused into the fine science he has helped to pioneer. We—and there is no need, as Sagan himself acknowledges, to exclude from that "we" whatever other intelligent beings may exist in the universe—clearly have a grand and challenging role: to be the instruments of the universe's own autobiography.

Frederick Turner, Founders Professor of Arts and Humanities at the University of Texas at Dallas, is a poet, philosopher of science, and cultural critic. His new book, The Culture of Hope, *will be published this winter by The Free Press.*

A Cabal of Smarties

By Brock Yates

On the Edge
By Elizabeth Drew
(New York: Simon & Schuster)
462 pages, $24

It was during a bizarre span of a few weeks in late 1994 that everyone inside the Beltway seemed to be assaulting the White House with everything from light aircraft to automatic weapons to pocket knives. But these attacks were mere pin-pricks compared to the siege guns being directed at the revered old mansion by the elite media. The incoming rounds came from the Right, in the form of 16-inch broadsides from Rush Limbaugh, and even from the Left, in the form of small arms sniping from the otherwise obsequious Anthony Lewis.

The serious bombardment started following the November election debacle, after which pollsters had identified the president and his administration as the lightning rod for voter anger. The man in the emperor's clothes had been disrobed, and not only by the strident Right and the hand-wringing Left. Centrist pundits like Joe Klein, Jonathan Alter, Fred Barnes, Michael Barone, and even that courtly doyen, David Broder, had long since been pecking away at the artfully contrived image of unctuous, lip-chewing egalitarianism that surrounded the Boy-King from Hope.

Robert Woodward led off the book parade with his hastily fabricated *The Agenda,* which concentrated on the administration's early, nearly disastrous attempts to pass a budget, but it was up to Elizabeth Drew to take aim with sufficient patience to score deadly direct hits. Her effort, *On the Edge,* chronicles the first two years (almost) of the Clinton administration, ending with the passage of the crime bill but closing before the final health care crash-landing and the revolution at the polls in November. But based on her revelations, it must be presumed that neither event would have surprised her or would have in any way altered the central theme of the book: the Clintons and their cabal of young smarties were supremely unqualified to take command of the administration. Moreover, through two years of bloody political combat they appeared to learn nothing.

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That such hard-hearted confirmation of the Clintonites' repeated *faux pas* comes from Ms. Drew's word processor may surprise political junkies. She is best known as a punctilious guest on Washington-based TV chat shows, and for her lengthy treatises in the pre-Tina *New Yorker,* where she represented the epitome of what someone once described as that journal's unrelenting "gasbag orthodoxy." She appeared the Marian the Librarian of political journalists, seemingly too demure, too ladylike, and too conventionally liberal to offer much ammunition in the White House firefight.

But Elizabeth Drew surprises. Marian is one tough broad (appropriate apologies for such a gutter sexist pejorative here, but the priority for shock value temporarily supersedes political correctness). Drew supplies, chapter and verse, total confirmation for what, despite Democratic denials, was at the core of the November revolt. Page after page, in one primly constructed paragraph after another, Drew documents the gaffes and world-class blunders that blighted the first two years of Clintonism. Most of the foolishness is well known, but Drew's insider knowledge and vast sources provide a peek behind the shutters unlike any others.

She does not blink. She writes with a notable lack of subjectivity, behaving more like a legal secretary than a hard-core Washington scribe with an agenda—but this secretary added her own pithy marginal notes for personal reference.

This is truly the story of the Gang that Couldn't Govern Straight. Among the bozos and half-baked ideologues who infest the White House Drew targets Warren Christopher, George Stephanopoulos, the Little Rock Rose Law Firm hacks, and the quartet of political advisors (Begala, Carville, Greenberg, and Grunwald) as major culprits for the debacle. Her primary villains, though, are the president and the first lady themselves.

Clinton is not so much revealed as defined as a waffler and pathological attention-seeker without core values. "Did the American people want a Phil Donahue in the presidency?" Drew asks, arguing that the Man from Hope is in hopelessly over his head. His wife is, if anything, more harshly indicted as an arrogant, elitist ideologue whose divisive personality and uncompromising liberalism lay at the center of the health care defeat and much of the internal administration turmoil.

If, as Ms. Drew observes, Clinton "had a virtual incapacity to say no," it was Mrs. Clinton who stridently said "nyet" to any compromises with persons who deviated even slightly from her divinely inspired solutions. This dichotomy of style and philosophy (chummy, intelligent, perpetual candidate versus 1960s Seven Sisters Liberalism) obviously generated much of the internal confusion during the first two years of the Clinton presidency.

Drew's sources appear to be mole-like within the White House. She reports the confusion surrounding such issues as gays in the military, Bosnia, the Vincent Foster suicide (avoiding the seedier side of his relations with Mrs. Clinton), Whitewater, and various stumbles relating to Kimba Wood, Zoë Baird, Les Aspin, Bobby Ray Inman, et al., almost as if she were seated in the room, notebook in hand. In one instance she quotes, verbatim, a conversation between Vernon Jordan and the president that leads to one of two conclusions: either Jordan or the president blabbed or their phone was tapped. There are several instances—two on the Truman balcony—in which she reports intimate presidential conversations that would have required her presence (unlikely) or the reportage of an eyewitness (also unlikely).

One certainly hopes there will be a future edition. While Ms. Drew will never be confused with Theodore White (or Hunter S. Thompson, for that matter) as a political chronicler, she has produced a solidly readable book. Notwithstanding her occasional stumbles into the thicket of weird syntax and literary wrestlemania ("distraughtness," "commandingness," and "overwhelmingness"?), *On the Edge* is a tart, tough, occasionally gamy examination of a presidential self-destruct unseen since our last southern governor slouched into the Oval Office. Her book might have been called *Suspicions Confirmed.* Perhaps her 1997 sequel will be titled *The Final Nose Dive.*

Brock Yates, editor-at-large for Car and Driver, *is writing a book on the revival of the automobile industry for Little, Brown.*

Pistol-packin' Comics

by Scott Walter

The Florence King Reader
By Florence King
(New York: St. Martin's Press) 417 pages, $22.95

All the Trouble in the World: The Lighter Side of Overpopulation, Famine, Ecological Disaster, Ethnic Hatred, Plague, and Poverty
By P.J. O'Rourke
(New York: Atlantic Monthly Press) 340 pages, $22

Don't mess with Florence King. True, she's gleaming on the dustjacket of one of her books—but so is the barrel of her Ruger automatic pistol, one of several weapons she keeps handy. Her last book was entitled, *With Charity Toward None: A Fond Look at Misanthropy.* It's not even safe to praise her, as one hapless reviewer at the *New York Times* discovered when King responded to the favorable review he'd given her: "You do not know how to write a review. I do. Here are your faults…."

Her latest work, *The Florence King Reader,* has an affectionate introduction by her editor, but he admits that around the office they call her the Queen of Spleen. "I've met her," he reassures us, "and she wouldn't hurt a piranha." Not many folks do meet Miss King, who treasures her solitude in Fredericksburg, Virginia. Fewer still dare to edit her. Her book contracts state that she will do her own copyediting, and her present editor admits, "I may not be the brightest deer in the forest, but I know how to keep out of sights."

Miss King is not easy to characterize. Perhaps the best term for her is the old-fashioned *belletrist,* but that makes her sound too serious to be funny and not serious enough to be enduring. As this 400-page overview of her last two decades' work reveals, King's serious humor is enduring. The *Reader* contains all of her comic novel, *When Sisterhood Was in Flower,* as well as generous excerpts from her essay collections; her hilarious studies of Southern ladies and gentlemen, WASPs, the American male, and misanthropy; her memoir, *Confessions of a Failed Southern Lady;* numerous articles and reviews; and even a

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TAE Has Words with Florence King

What are the prospects for new books from your pen?
My next book will be a second volume of memoirs, *Confessions of a Right-Wing Feminist.* That is, unless I yield to my longstanding urge to write a suspense novel. (I've been saying this for years—don't pay any attention to me. Besides, every time I've tried to write serious fiction, I start seeing the funny aspect by about chapter three, and that ruins it.)

Who is your nominee for funniest writer of the twentieth century?
Probably James Thurber, based on his essay about the 1895 traveler's phrasebook containing the French translation for "My position has been struck by lightning."

What particular criticism of your work has most annoyed you?
The criticism that annoys me the most is the old "mean-spirited" business. So many mainstream critics remind me of those women who go around saying, "I just want everybody to be happy." Wit is *supposed* to go for the jugular, not the jocular.

What is your greatest regret as you look back on your work?
That I've been tagged as a "Southern writer." Once this happens, you can't shake it off, which is why I still get letters from Emory and Vanderbilt grad students writing theses on "Studies in Neo-Agrarian Torment." I don't like Southern writing; all the novels seem to be about three generations of women who sit on the porch and talk for 400 pages.

Some people say that "right" and "wrong" are private matters. Other people say that society falls apart when we don't share clear standards of right and wrong. What do you say?
A "clear standard of right and wrong" is what I crave when I watch re-runs of *Upstairs, Downstairs.* Sometimes I wish I could walk into that house and never come out.

chapter from her pseudonymous historical romance, *The Barbarian Princess.* Throughout her varied career, she has striven to be a craftsman, and she has re-edited her work before including it here, all the while inserting frank editorial asides describing the flaws she sees in the originals. Throughout, the prose is lean and sinewy, the organization taut, the wit eviscerating.

Within the right-wing humor brigade, P. J. O'Rourke is one of Miss King's few peers. He has written a book that will surprise his devotées, for it is not his usual assemblage of wise-cracking magazine pieces but a unified opus whose seams are reinforced with scholarly quotations, think-tank data, and sustained political argument. Of course, all this deep thinking is interlaced with his usual mordant asides, but even in these O'Rourke keeps his tongue gentler than usual, with the exception of a few ferocious lashings of his nemesis, Al Gore. As his subtitle explains, O'Rourke takes on "overpopulation, famine, ecological disaster, ethnic hatred, plague, and poverty." He seeks their "lighter side"; which is to say, he refuses to accede to the gloom-and-doom crowd's cries that the sky is falling, the earth crumbling.

The book has three parts: an opening chapter that attacks the do-gooder ideology underlying the fashionable worries of the subtitle; seven chapters that explore (and demolish) the explanations professional worriers give for what worries them; and a concluding chapter that offers O'Rourke's alternative to the worry-wart philosophy.

Why are there so many worriers running around, he asks, when by any standard measure "life is better than it ever has been"? (Or in P. J. prose, "History is on a roll, a toot, a bender," yet "I hear America whining, crybaby to the world.") O'Rourke's answer: "We whine because it works. We used to be shunned for weeping in our beer. Now we go on *Oprah.*" Moreover, "worrying is less work than doing something to fix the worry.... everybody wants to save the earth; nobody wants to help Mom do the dishes."

O'Rourke might have ignored today's trendy lamentations and retreated to his Scotches (which are "older than the White House staff"), but he counterattacks instead because if somebody doesn't, the "professional worriers [will] put our fears to use." Whether the sob sisters are on the Left or Right matters not, for "there is really only one political goal in the world. Politics is the business of getting power and privilege without possessing merit." Not that O'Rourke doesn't have a political agenda himself, but it's limited to "property rights, rule of law, responsible government, and universal education: That's all we need." In short, O'Rourke prefers the sort of self-government championed by the classical liberals of the eighteenth century.

After thrashing the politics of anxiety, O'Rourke concludes with a chapter on "Economic Justice": "There are better ways to solve life's problems than by holding voodoo ceremonies or shooting your neighbors or sending twits-of-all-nations to [an environmentalist conference in] Rio. Politics won't do it. And politicians surely won't. The best method of existential improvement is making money." To prove this assertion, he pens a paean to Vietnam,

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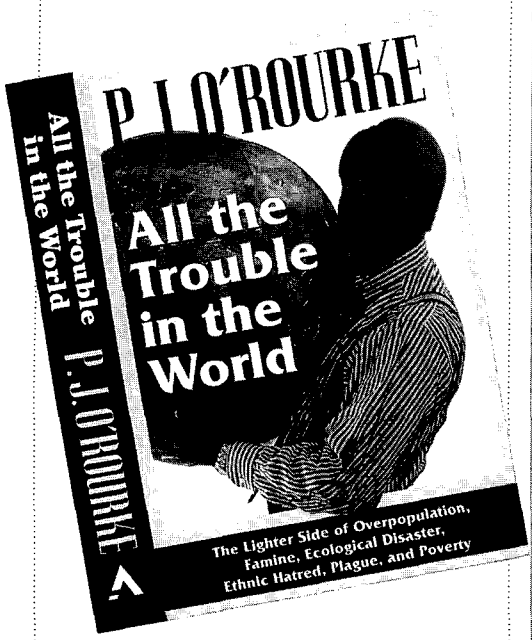

TAE Has Words with P. J. O'Rourke

Your new book is more serious than the earlier ones—which raises the question, "Are you going soft?"
No, I'm just getting old.

What accounts for this book's milder tone?
Part of the job of the book is to convince people to think carefully before they leap into starry-eyed belief in all this crap. That is the reason for the relative mildness of tone, as compared to, say, when I write for the *American Spectator.* It's also the reason for my vitriol toward Al Gore, because I think his book is a piece of secular fanaticism and political demagoguery—it's loathsome.

Religion seems to be an undercurrent throughout your book.
Well, I'm glad you picked that up because it is. I wouldn't say I'm a very good Christian, but I am one. I guess it was Dr. Johnson who said, "By all means have an atheist to dinner, but count the spoons." Without some sort of core religious belief, I don't see how it's possible to construct a rational moral framework. And if you truly believe that elk are as important as people, you might be a very dangerous person.

which despite the burden of a Communist regime began dramatically advancing its quality of life the moment its apparatchiks ended price controls, "put the privacy back into private property, and told everybody to go make a living."

Yet O'Rourke is not drunk on dreams of earthly paradise. His first chapter ends soberly with the recognition that the world's worries require us "to accept the undramatic and often extremely boring duties of working hard, exercising self-control, taking care of ourselves, our families, and our neighbors, being kind, and practicing as much private morality as we can stand without popping." Similarly, the book closes with O'Rourke's confession that "in the end, Vietnam was a bit depressing, too. Hard to believe that the thrilling idea of human liberty always results in people acting so...human."

You might say that O'Rourke has discovered the ancient truths of original sin, moral virtue, and philosophic moderation. In this discovery, he has a soulmate in Florence King and, as the sales of their books show, in much of the American public. Humor is the revenge of the normal, as a wise man once quipped.

The norms produced by Athens and Jerusalem, the taproots of the West, have been anti-utopian political philosophy and Judaeo-Christian religion, respectively. Continuing this tradition, both King and O'Rourke moderate their expectations of the politically possible and acknowledge an objective moral order that they might less ostentatiously call "reality." On the Athens side, for example, both attack the upstart philosopher Rousseau.

Both authors take the Jerusalem strand seriously too. Admittedly, their rhetoric is far from evangelical, and Lord knows neither author is a saint. But readers who think religion and "social issues" should never be discussed in public ought to note that these two whisky-drinkers are popular precisely because of their blunt moral judgments. Neither shies away from abortion, for example. O'Rourke eschews pro-life fanaticism, but after giving Bangladesh's infant mortality rate of 108 deaths per 1,000 live births, he mischievously adds that in the U.S. "the rate of abortions per 1,000 live births is 404, if dead babies happen to be what you worry about." For her part, King includes an entire essay on abortion and decides that "Molly Yard is such a little old tennis shoe among ladies that anything she says has got to be wrong." King even views organ transplants with her famous jaundiced eye.

Whether or not a reader agrees with King and O'Rourke on these and other questions, there's a deeper lesson being taught: Don't worry about being loved, especially by your enemies. Rush Limbaugh recently gave that advice to the House freshmen, and it may be a secret of the success enjoyed not only by pundits like himself and King and O'Rourke, but also by politicians like Newt Gingrich and Virginia Gov. George Allen. Ordinary citizens take it for granted that the moral world has laws no more avoidable than the law of gravity is in the physical world, and they also crave plainspokenness. As a result, advocates who combine straightforward moral judgment with humor will command public respect. Aristotle said, "you should kill your opponents' earnestness with jesting." He also recognized that the capacity to call some things good and other things bad is central to human nature. Of course citizens will sometimes disagree about the good and the bad, but those arguments are what self-government

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is all about. Democracy is supposed to lead to civil argument. And "civil," as King and O'Rourke make clear, does not necessarily mean "dainty."

Scott Walter is senior editor of The American Enterprise.

He Said, She Said

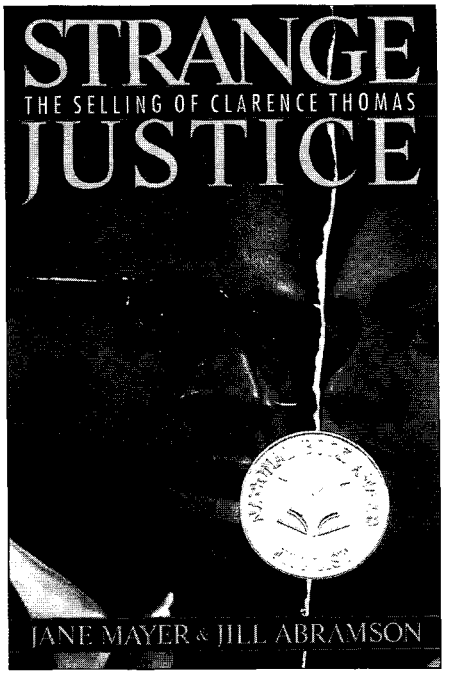
By Joan Kennedy Taylor

Strange Justice: The Selling of Clarence Thomas
By Jane Mayer and Jill Abramson
(Boston: Houghton Mifflin) 406 pages, $24.95

The hearings of the Senate Judiciary Committee in the fall of 1991 that brought sexual harassment to the attention of millions of Americans paradoxically left those millions wondering just what happened between Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill. Several years and several books later, it is still not clear just what happened, or who was more credible than whom. *Strange Justice* is one of the latest attempts to resolve these issues and to vindicate Anita Hill.

Jane Mayer and Jill Abramson, both *Wall Street Journal* reporters, spent more than two years interviewing hundreds of people and reading thousands of pages of documents to write a "much fuller account" of the relationship between Thomas and Hill, and how it ended up an object of controversy on national television. Their own conclusion is that "the preponderance of the evidence suggests" that Thomas lied under oath, and they search his early life and interview members of his family and people who knew him in school and at work to find pieces of behavior compatible with the purported harassment. The very title of their book may be intended to refer both to the aftermath of the hearings and to their opinions of Justice Thomas himself. Nonetheless they conclude, as almost everyone else has, that "unless an eyewitness to these private events emerges, no one will ever know with absolute certainty whether Hill or Thomas…was telling the truth."

David Brock's 1993 best-seller *The Real Anita Hill* came to a similar but opposite conclusion: Brock felt he had amassed a body of evidence (some of it, he says, "obtained under the condition of anonymity for those who revealed it") that discredited Hill. "In the absence of a confession from either Thomas or Hill," he says, we can only decide on the basis of credibility. And the weight of the evidence he uncovered supports Thomas, Brock states.



Both of these dueling books are at one and the same time carefully researched and highly speculative. The authors' differing conclusions depend on character assessments, which they base on the speculations of witnesses of varied credibility; David Brock found people who were critical of Anita Hill, and Mayer and Abramson found people who were critical of Clarence Thomas. Each book discounts statements of fact from witnesses with whom they disagree: *Strange Justice* dismisses the affidavit of John Burke, of the Washington law firm where Anita Hill worked before going to work for Clarence Thomas because the firm's records do not document Burke's statement that he told Anita Hill to look for other employment. Similarly, *The Real Anita Hill* analyzes away the testimony of witnesses who stated they were told by Hill at the time that she was feeling harassed because Brock speculates the harasser was someone else.

If there is this much room for personal interpretation just over the basic facts, why do people care so much what happened? Partly it is because sexual harassment has become such a big issue for so many. For partisans of both protagonists *the* hearings presented the mythic case. You could look at the story as a dramatization of the idea that "men don't get it," or as a dramatization of the idea that the establishment has been cowed into taking as intimidation any words or actions of a male that have some sexual content.

Both ideas are true. There is such a thing as sexual harassment, and many women (myself included) have experienced it and found it to be distasteful and humiliating. That is what one side of the argument doesn't get.

But how should we define harassment? In 1980, the EEOC issued guidelines that defined sexual harassment as discrimination, in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, if "unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature" were either a *quid pro quo* in exchange for employment or advancement, or if they had "the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's job performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment." These guidelines were incorporated by the Supreme Court in its *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson* decision in 1986. There are growing questions about what constitutes an "intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment." The guidelines are so vague that they can plausibly be interpreted to imply that any remotely sexual phrase or image *ipso facto* harasses women. Men have been punished because they used explicit sexual language in the office, made a joke, or looked at or carried girlie magazines. Such standards can themselves create hostility in the workplace. That's what the other side doesn't get.

An anti-censorship organization formed in 1992, Feminists for Free Expression is promoting a more sensible definition of harassment, one that holds that words alone "may constitute a hostile work environment when an employee suffers a pattern of targeted and/or intentional verbal abuse," but that offensive

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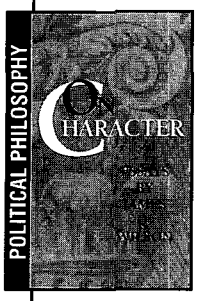

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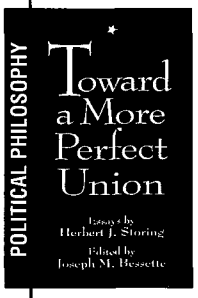

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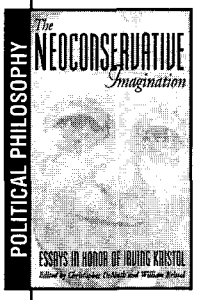

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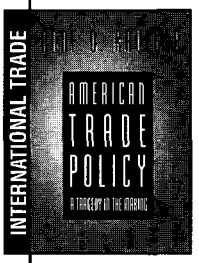

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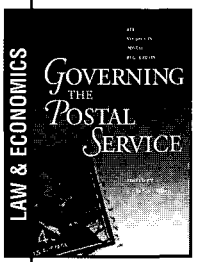

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TAE3

opinions, books, or posters, even if sexist, should not constitute sexual harassment.

FFE, in its amicus brief in the 1993 Supreme Court case *Harris v. Forklift Systems, Inc.*, argued that a "lack of clarity" in the EEOC guidelines "has created a wellspring of confusion." The brief stated that "undue anti-sexual emphasis, particularly when coupled with a standard of 'offensiveness,' entails unspoken and counterproductive assumptions about women—that women are indeed the 'weaker sex' and cannot survive in the workplace unless it is cleansed of all banter or expression about sexuality. These assumptions fundamentally disserve women, perpetuating gender-based stereotypes of both men and women, but particularly of women as fragile, asexual beings whose delicate sensibilities require special protection."

The most publicized new material in *Strange Justice* unfortunately evokes such an assumption, finding corroboration of Hill in an interview with a woman who was shocked to see a number of *Playboy* magazines in Clarence Thomas's apartment.

Not only is *Strange Justice* conventional in its view of harassment, but the authors display surprisingly little understanding of economics and of conservative political thought. Just one example: they characterize the idea that the wage gap is influenced by the work patterns of family women who take less demanding jobs (economist June O'Neill was writing about this at the Urban Institute when Clarence Thomas was at the EEOC) as "[Thomas] Sowell's controversial opinion of women." Since they decide early on that Clarence Thomas was opportunistic, many changes of opinion on subjects like affirmative action are characterized as selling out or "becoming rigid." The book does have detailed notes (no anonymous allegations here), and its lengthy quotes do probably add to the record. But this is no place to find the ultimate truth.

Joan Kennedy Taylor is vice-president of Feminists for Free Expression and the author of Reclaiming the Mainstream: Individualist Feminism Rediscovered *(Prometheus Books).*

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Literary Lives by Florence King

Violet Hunt: Handmaiden

Remember Violet Hunt? Of course you don't, but she is the stuff of which "women's studies" are made.

From 1900 to 1918 she cranked out a novel a year, all of them about "disagreeable worldly women whom she drew with great skill," said *The Times of London.* She did not have an ear for titles *(Unkist, Unkind!),* her syntax was terrible, and her heroines were all thinly disguised versions of herself: "a modern woman," in the words of one reviewer, "who is all nerves and pose and self-conscious egotism, with a certain amount of superficial cleverness and an inexhaustible interest in her own emotions."

Violet Hunt (1862–1942) was the eldest daughter of the English landscape painter Alfred Hunt, who put his painting first. Mrs. Hunt put her husband first, so Violet and her sisters were constantly admonished to be quiet so that Papa could concentrate. This goes far to explain the stormy upheavals Violet introduced into the lives of her many lovers, all of whom made their living from introspection.

At heart she was a handmaiden, a type that still flourishes.

Handmaidens come in three varieties, defined by the degree of their artistic pretensions. The plain vanilla handmaiden doesn't have any; she is merely a glorified housekeeper who Windexes her writer-boyfriend's computer screen, changes his printer ribbons, and sharpens pencils. Writers don't use pencils much anymore but she sharpens them anyway, for the symbolism. A steady grrrr-grrrr signals an emotionally needy handmaiden desperately boring her way into a writer's cold, cold heart.

The more ambitious handmaiden wants to see her name on the Acknowledgments page. Word processing has eliminated her specialty, retyping, but she still takes over the proofreading, the research, and anything else the master lets her do.

The highest degree of handmaiden is the bohemian woman known as a "blithe spirit," who takes up writing because she keeps sleeping with writers: it rubs off (along with a few other things). Eventually she becomes addicted to creative men, preferably neurotic ones, and if she can find a mad genius she's in clover. If she lasts long enough—and true handmaidens never give up—she becomes what one critic has called "the girl in the footnote," the female who keeps turning up in biographies of male writers, whose name rings a bell but whom we can't quite place.

Such a woman was Violet Hunt. She had her first affair at 22 with a painter of 51. Next came magazine publisher Oswald Crawfurd, 57, who had two other arty mistresses. Violet fell madly in love with Crawfurd, but once she was safely seduced he made it clear that he would never leave his wife—creatin' don't last, cookin' do. When the wife eventually died, he married a quiet woman with no artistic talent, leaving Violet to wonder why.

Soon Violet took up writing. Her prolific output impressed Somerset Maugham, who told her she was a natural storyteller but called her sentences "slovenly." Maugham slept with her, used her as a model for Rose Waterford in *The Moon and Sixpence,* and then went on his way.

> The highest degree of handmaiden is the bohemian woman known as a "blithe spirit," who takes up writing because she keeps sleeping with writers.

Next came H. G. Wells, who slept with her, used her as a model for Beatrice in *Tono-Bungay,* and then moved on to Rebecca West. After Wells she had a platonic collusion with Arnold Bennett, who used her as a model for Carlotta Peel in *Sacred and Profane Love.* Violet's geniuses were piling up, and so were her footnotes.

The great love of Violet's life was Ford Madox Ford, who suffered from all the twitches and kinks that Victorians lumped together under "neurasthenia." Tall and gawky and unable to breathe through his nose, he fired the descriptive powers of every writer he met. Wyndham Lewis said "his mouth hung open as though he were an animal at the zoo inviting buns." Rebecca West said "his embraces made me feel like the toast under a poached egg." Even Violet said he looked like "a stalk of white asparagus grown in the cellar." When she found a bottle marked *poison* in his pocket and confiscated it, she knew she had rescued a genius from destruction, so she slept with him and helped him launch *The English Review.* Where there's a "little magazine," there's always a handmaiden.

Ford, who was half German, decided to apply for German citizenship and took Violet to Germany with him. Violet said he divorced his wife and married her in a German ceremony, but when they returned to England and she started calling herself Mrs. Ford, the other Mrs. Ford brought suit and Violet went from the book page to the front page.

The story was so tangled and the uproar so intense that no one ever found out what really happened, but we can be sure of one thing: it disturbed Ford's concentration, and that might have been the point of it all. Like most professional helpers, handmaidens harbor a subconscious hatred of strength and independence.

Thanks to the women's studies movement, the handmaiden has been upgraded to the woman who, in the nervous phrase of feminists, "was important in her own right." She now has whole biographies all to herself, but most of them only prove a sore point. You can take the girl out of the footnote but you can't take the footnote out of the girl.

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the Digest

SUMMARIES OF IMPORTANT NEW RESEARCH FROM THE NATION'S UNIVERSITIES, THINK TANKS, AND INVESTIGATIVE PUBLICATIONS

Politics

"Can Government Be Reinvented?"

James Q. Wilson, "Reinventing Public Administration," in PS: Political Science and Politics *(December 1994), American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20036.*

President Bill Clinton has appointed a commission called the National Performance Review, headed by Vice-President Al Gore, to formulate plans for streamlining the federal government. Wilson, a professor of management at the University of California, Los Angeles, notes that previous presidential reform commissions generally argued that the president and Cabinet secretaries had to be stronger, and that other sources of power, such as independent agencies, had to be eliminated. In addition, these commissions called for government to become more efficient either by cutting budgets or the costs of service delivery.

The National Performance Review breaks with this tradition by changing the emphasis from accountability to "customer responsiveness," from efficiency to calls for making government "entrepreneurial." This, Wilson argues, is not an especially promising course.

He believes civil service protections and incentives make it impossible for government to become as user-friendly as America's best corporations. A teenager working at McDonald's will be courteous because his manager can increase profits via employee politeness, and the teenager knows that being rude will result in his firing. These incentives, however, do not exist in government; a post office clerk will keep his job if he sells 6 stamps an hour or 60. Moreover, government's complexity is often the result of trying to please competing constituencies. The Federal Highway Act of 1956, which authorized the nation's interstate road system, took up 28 pages; the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 reauthorized the highway program in 293 pages. The reason: The second act included scores of additional requirements, such as buying iron and steel from U.S. manufacturers and using recycled rubber in asphalt.

The executive branch, Wilson contends, cannot be both large and flexible. "To truly empower employees," Wilson argues, "you must first disempower legislators, judges, and White House staffers. And the only way to do that is to leave tasks for which customer service is paramount to the private sector."

What Oil Crisis?

Peter R. Odell, "International Oil : A Return to American Hegemony," in The World Today *(November 1994), Royal Institute of International Affairs, 10 St. James's Square, London SW1Y 4LE, United Kingdom.*

As America's dependence on foreign oil slowly rises, some commentators speculate that the United States might be drawn into another shortage crisis or war to ensure continued U.S. access to energy supplies. But that scenario, says Odell, an emeritus professor at Holland's Erasmus University, is highly unlikely. The continuing entente between the United States and Saudi Arabia, he believes, will ensure that the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) stays weak and oil prices remain low.

Until the first energy crisis of 1973, the international oil industry was largely dominated by American corporations. The large European companies that survived, such as Royal Dutch Shell and the Compagnie Française des Pétroles, survived only because of massive intervention by the British, Dutch, and French governments. American oil companies, who "outdid Coca-Cola in their universality and General Motors and Ford in their influence," were primarily responsible for shifting Western European industries from coal to oil as their primary fuel. It was they who made internationally traded oil "the principal source of energy in the non-Communist world."

Then the OPEC nations came to dominate world oil markets during the decade after 1973. But new discoveries and conservation stimulated by higher prices eventually brought oil prices back down from 1982 onward.

The 1980s marked a scramble for power in the world oil market, with Saudi Arabia trying to establish production policies emphasizing its independence from the United States, and the Americans subsidizing Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988) as a way of checking Soviet and Iranian expansion into the Persian Gulf. But after the 1991 Gulf War, Odell argues, America as the world's largest oil importer and Saudi Arabia as the world's largest oil exporter realized they needed each other. Over the past several years they have worked in informal alliance on the following terms: America agrees to buy a steady supply of oil from Saudi Arabia at 1993 prices, to protect the kingdom from attack by other nations, and to keep lower-cost Iraqi oil off the market at least until mid-1995. Saudi Arabia agrees to supply the petroleum America needs and to

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increase production when needed to check any sharp price increases.

This arrangement, Odell predicts, will "effectively upstage OPEC," as no other nation has the ability to compete with Saudi Arabia's huge oil reserves. Efforts to expand oil production in other nations will also be set aside indefinitely, and when such expansion takes place, it will only take place under terms set by the U.S.-Saudi alliance.

Barring unforeseen traumatic events, Odell concludes, oil prices should remain stable for some time. "The power required to overcome the stablising impact of the United States-Saudi agreement," he writes, "seems to be too great for any other set of actors to match."

Economics

Southern California Will Return

Joel Kotkin, The Next Act: Southern California's New Economy. *Center for the New West, 3281 East Giusti Road #275, Ontario, California 91764. 24 p. $10.*

In recent years, southern California has been undergoing a severe recession. Defense cutbacks and a flood of immigrants, many illegal, have caused unemployment rates to soar in Los Angeles and its suburbs. But Kotkin, a senior fellow at the Center for the New West, notes that southern California has gone through tough times before, particularly when defense spending shrank after World War II and the Vietnam War. In 1946, for example, reductions in military spending were so severe they led Los Angeles mayor Fletcher Bowron to conclude that "the good Lord did not intend for this to be an industrial city."

But just as in the past, Kotkin predicts, southern California will rebound from economic disaster due to the entrepreneurial energy of people who move to the region and create new enterprises.

While the number defense-related jobs in southern California has fallen by half over the past 15 years, the entertainment and tourist industries have created an even greater number of new jobs. The service sector has also grown dramatically, increasing by 60 percent (or 300,000 jobs) between 1979 and 1994. These jobs are not just flipping hamburgers; nearly 80 percent of them are such high-paying professions as computer technicians or health care administrators.

While aging whites are leaving the region, they are being replaced by younger immigrants, many of whom are creating substantial businesses. There are over 1,200 computer firms in southern California owned by Chinese; these firms employ more than 5,000 people and account for nearly $3.1 billion in sales. Six of the 15 largest businesses in Orange County are headed by people who were born outside the United States, in such countries as Pakistan, Mexico, Turkey, and the former Yugoslavia. Twice as many Nguyens as Smiths are presently buying homes in Orange County.

Manufacturing plays a substantial part in the region's economic growth; more people are employed in manufacturing in southern California than in Ohio, Texas, or Illinois. While many of these jobs are in Hollywood, southern California has over 1,600 biotechnology firms, apparel industries with sales of over $9 billion (Bugle Boy, Guess, S.W.A.T.), and car design boutiques whose clients include most of the world's leading automobile companies. Many of these firms are small, flexible, and export-oriented; southern California trade with Mexico, for example, has increased by an average of 10.9 percent each year since 1983, and should grow even more with the passage of NAFTA.

Kotkin predicts that the future of the southern California economy will be bright. "This region," he contends, "possesses a remarkable economic, cultural, and creative dynamism unmatched by any major urban region in North America."

Supporting America's Families

Allan Carlson, "Beyond the 'Family Wage' Quandary," in The Family in America *(December 1994), Rockford Institute, 934 North Main Street, Rockford, Illinois 61103.*

The notion of a "family wage"—paying heads of households more to allow them to support families—is quite old. Adam Smith, in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), was the first to suggest that creation of a family wage was a worthy idea. Over the centuries, the notion was also supported not only by such great classical economists as David Ricardo and Thomas Malthus, but by such well-known socialists as Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Karl Kautsky. In addition, the American Federation of Labor actively supported the establishment of a family wage for over 70 years.

But today, notes Rockford Institute president Carlson, the family wage is a largely forgotten notion that can't be revived because "the sustaining cultural assumptions behind purposeful gender discrimination no longer exist." Yet even though a family wage is no longer possible, Carlson believes that "the goals of protecting family autonomy and children remain of critical import."

The family wage died for three reasons. First, women's advocates demanded equal pay for equal work. Second, the AFL-CIO abandoned its support of the family wage in 1973 when it supported the Equal Rights Amendment. Third, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 banned discrimination because of sex.

But as women's and men's wages became more equal, families suffered. The Census Bureau reports that the income of families with a wife not in the labor force declined from $31,607 (in constant 1992 dollars) in 1970 to $30,326 in 1992, "a predictable result of the effective expansion in the labor supply achieved through the elimination of gender barriers." These single-income families also found it harder to buy homes. In 1970, the average home cost 2.5 times as much as a single-income family's earnings; by 1988 the figure was 4.1 times as much. Single-income families are also now more likely to live in poverty. In 1992, 9 percent of one-earner families made less than $10,000, compared to only 2 percent of families with two members in the labor force.

While a family wage cannot be created, Carlson calls for several reforms that would strengthen "families as institutions." These reforms include a $1,500 tax credit per child, the restoration of "income-splitting" rules enabling couples to file two returns (at lower rates) on half the family's income, and amending the Fair Labor Standards Act and zoning ordinances to allow more labor within the home. These gender-neutral re-

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forms, Carlson argues, will strengthen America's families "in a manner that protects children, family autonomy, and authentic freedom of choice."

Third World Wealth

Pam Woodall, "War of the Worlds," in The Economist *(October 1, 1994), 25 St. James Street, London SW1A 1HG, United Kingdom.*

When Americans look at the economies of the Third World, they tend to see either basket cases needing endless amounts of foreign aid or competitive threats that will "steal" jobs. Woodall, *The Economist*'s economics editor, disagrees. While developing nations like Brazil and Russia will struggle, many will eventually become economic powerhouses. And far from threatening the advanced economies of Europe, Japan, and North America, these newly wealthy nations will be good customers eager to buy the First World's products. "Rich countries should gain overall, rather than lose, from the growing prosperity of the Third World," writes Woodall.

Developing countries are already becoming major markets. Forty-two percent of American and 48 percent of Japanese exports now go to either the Third World or to the nations that once comprised the Soviet Union. Between 1990 and 1993, American exports to the Third World increased, on average, by 12 percent a year, while its exports to other wealthy nations increased by only 2 percent annually. During this period, Third World countries increased their imports by 37 percent. "For the first time," Woodall argues, "developing countries were acting as a 'locomotive,' helping to pull the rich world out of its recession of the early 1990s."

As the purchasing power of the Third World increases, Woodall contends, the United States has many advantages over its European and Japanese rivals. America's labor market is more flexible than its competitors, who have strict rules regulating hiring and firing. U.S. workers have higher average levels of education than their counterparts in other wealthy nations. America also controls a higher percentage of high-tech exports and has a relatively low proportion of its workers (16 percent, compared to 31 percent in Germany) in the manufacturing sector, which will be most vulnerable to lower-wage Third World rivals. Moreover, American brands (Coke, Marlboro, Hollywood films) are far more popular in the Third World than are European or Japanese counterparts.

To preserve overall prosperity, Woodall concludes, the wealthy nations of the world need to eschew protectionism. "History shows that countries that use trade policies to preserve the existing structure of their economies can look forward only to a faster pace of decline," she argues. "They may even be tomorrow's Third World economies."

The Government Airwaves

Thomas G. Krattenmaker and Lucas R. Powe Jr., Regulating Broadcast Programming. *American Enterprise Institute/MIT Press, 55 Hayward Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02142. 331 p. $34.95.*

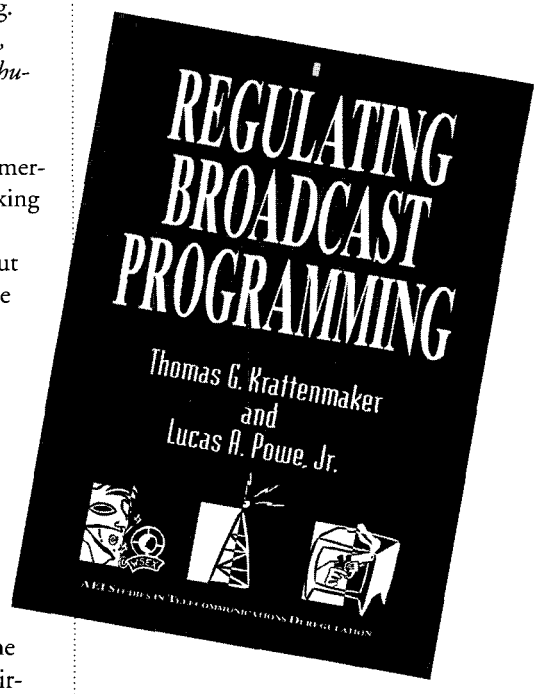
In 1912, the first people in North America to learn that the Titanic was sinking were radio operators at the Marconi Company's Newfoundland station. But the Marconi operators had a hard time receiving the Titanic's distress call, as amateur radio operators flooded the airwaves with rumors, queries, and other comments that interfered with the Titanic's signal.

Congress responded to this incident by passing the Radio Act of 1912, which declared that the government owned the airwaves and had the right to issue licenses to the broadcast spectrum. Ever since, the government has been regulating the airwaves, first with radio and then with television. For most of this time government closely regulated the timing and content of what was broadcast.

Krattenmaker, dean of the William and Mary law school, and Powe, a professor of law and government at the University of Texas, question why this is no longer necessary. "In our view," they write, "attempts of the [Federal Communications] Commission, the courts, and Congress to regulate broadcast programming reflect poor regulatory policy."

Much of this failure, the authors say, comes from the FCC's refusal to appreciate the highly competitive nature of broadcast markets. A television set is as easily able to receive C-SPAN or The Discovery Channel as it is to receive salacious talk shows, Krattenmaker and Powe argue, and regulation ought to encourage competition as a way of indirectly encouraging excellent programming.

Content rules often act to prohibit good programming, say the authors. The FCC promulgated the Prime Time Access Rule, which still bans ABC, NBC, and CBS from offering more than three hours of prime time programming from Monday through Saturday. Though the commission hoped that worthy programs would fill the forcibly opened period between 7:30 and 8 p.m., cheaply produced syndicated shows and reruns filled the vacuum instead.



"Quality," Krattenmaker and Powe argue, "is a function of viewers' desires and broadcasters' resources, elements the FCC cannot control." To improve broadcast regulation, the authors propose:

- Ending content controls.
- Reducing barriers to new broadcast entries.
- Requiring broadcasters to make facilities available and then air shows produced by anyone who can afford to buy air time. Such reform would be preferable to government attempts to regulate broadcast content.

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Society

Crime and Black America

John J. DiIulio, Jr., "The Question of Black Crime," in The Public Interest *(Fall 1994), 1112 16th Street NW #530, Washington, DC 20036.*

Despite all the talk about America suffering from a crime epidemic, argues Princeton University political scientist John DiIulio, the bulk of the nation's worst crime is confined to the ghettoes of large cities. In 1990, FBI figures show, Philadelphia had a violent crime rate three times as high as in four neighboring suburban counties. In Milwaukee, people who lived in low-income largely black areas were more than 30 times likelier to be murdered, robbed, or assaulted than people living in white middle-class parts of the city. "America does not have a crime problem," DiIulio writes, "inner-city America does."

Most Americans are "relatively impervious to crime," DiIulio writes, because they can pay the bill for protective measures—such as leaving central cities, buying burglar alarms and home-security systems, and shopping in malls whose owners have invested in private security forces. The residents of high-crime areas do not have these options, because they can't afford to leave or buy protection, and because they live in cities that responded to rising crime rates by cutting police budgets—as happened in 15 of our 50 largest cities over the last decade.

The reason the poor have a more virulent crime problem is because they routinely encounter numerous violent criminals who should be in jail. "As it presently operates," DiIulio writes, "the justice system is a revolving door for convicted predatory street criminals." Plea bargaining ensures that 90 percent of all criminals (including 44 percent of murderers and 23 percent of rapists) don't go to trial because they plead guilty to a lesser charge. In 1989 (the most recent statistics available), 73 percent of all convicted criminals were released before they served their full sentences. And of criminals on probation, 54 percent are known to commit at least one crime, while 22 percent commit three or more. Most halfway houses and other forms of "intermediate sentencing" also fail to rehabilitate criminals, says DiIulio.

One way to stanch the crime wave, states the author, is to make sure that hardened criminals stay in jail for a long time. "It clearly pays," he argues, "to keep the vast majority of convicted violent and repeat criminals behind bars for longer periods than we currently do." For while in jail, these criminals cannot commit more crimes. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics's Patrick Langan, the tripling of the prison population between 1975 and 1989 probably reduced the violent crime rate by between 10 and 15 percent, "potentially preventing a conservatively estimated 390,000 murders, rapes, robberies, and aggravated assaults in 1989 alone."

Bring Back Fraternities

David T. Beito, "Thy Brother's Keeper," in Policy Review *(Fall 1994), Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Avenue NE, Washington, DC 20002.*

With the welfare state almost fully discredited, it's time to look for other ways of addressing social problems. One earlier alternative now largely forgotten was the network of private fraternal organizations that once provided extensive benefits to their members. Beito, a historian at the University of Alabama, suggests that the pattern of mutual aid these groups once practiced ought to be revived.

After the Revolutionary War, the Freemasons were the first American fraternal order to provide insurance benefits, as the Masons sought to expand their membership beyond the wealthy elite. Other fraternal orders, such as the Elks and Odd Fellows, also provided insurance (mostly for burial expenses) as part of their membership benefits.

By 1900, the tradition of mutual aid among fraternal orders was well established. At the turn of the century, most Americans disliked being on the dole, but were happy to accept loans and help from fellow lodge members. These orders also began to provide health insurance, providing access to a doctor in return for an annual fee. This system became quite popular; in Manhattan's Lower East Side, for example, over 500 doctors had contracts to provide medical service to Jewish lodges. Because these lodge members knew each other, few lodge members were eager to cheat on their friends or colleagues, ensuring that premiums were relatively low.

The fraternal orders particularly benefited immigrants and minorities. Poles received aid through the Polish National Alliance; the Irish from the Ancient Order of Hibernians; and Jews from B'nai Brith and the Workmen's Circle. Black fraternal orders, such as the Prince Hall Masonic Order, were so successful at providing insurance that a 1919 survey by the Illinois Health Insurance Commission reported that 93.5 percent of African Americans had life insurance, the highest rate of any group. Some black lodges in the South even opened hospitals, Beito notes, "which made hospital treatment available to African Americans in some areas for the first time."

Fraternal order membership peaked in 1925 and has steadily declined ever since. This falloff is due partly to the rise of competing forms of entertainment, such as radio and television. In addition, many lodges closed during World War II and were not reopened. But Beito argues that the welfare state's expansion also doomed the lodge system. If government took care of all insurance needs, a fraternal order's "most important purpose disappeared," leaving a mere social club. The welfare state's expansion, Beito notes, ensured that "the old relationships of fraternity, reciprocity, and autonomy were replaced with paternalism and dependency." And now that the failures of the welfare state are well known, Beito concludes, "it may be an opportune time to start recovering this older tradition."

Out with the Old Welfare

Charles Murray, "What to Do About Welfare," in Commentary *(December 1994), 165 East 56th Street, New York, New York, 10022.*

By now nearly all Americans believe the welfare system must be reformed. Murray, a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, notes that "an unusually broad consensus embracing just about everyone except the hard-core Left" now believes that

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the breakdown of families taking place in poor neighborhoods is a consequence of the welfare system.

The next Congress will be strongly interested in welfare reform, and Murray offers these suggestions for improving the system.

◦ Give states more ability to experiment. States should be able to redirect the federal funds used for welfare programs (Aid to Families with Dependent Children, food stamps, housing subsidies) into other experimental ways of helping children. These could include more workfare and some sort of time limit for benefits, but some states should try abolishing welfare entirely, perhaps replacing it with an expanded program of public works along the lines proposed by author Mickey Kaus, or with a negative income tax.

If a state does choose to end welfare, Murray suggests that recipients already on welfare continue to receive benefits. "For many women," Murray writes, "welfare has turned out to be a Faustian bargain in which the government plays the role of the devil." Having enticed these women into accepting aid, he argues, "it is unethical for the government now to demand that they pull themselves together."

◦ Make adoption at birth easier. Research suggests that children of never-married teenagers will probably do better in an adoptive home than raised by a single mother. To aid this process, adoptive parents' rights should be strengthened, biological parents' rights should be limited, and prevailing patterns that discourage transracial adoptions should end.

◦ Offer group homes for pregnant women and teenage single mothers. Like the Florence Crittenton homes of the early twentieth century, these homes would teach pregnant women parenting and job skills, provide a proper diet, and give women a chance to reflect on the new responsibilities of motherhood. But Murray is insistent that women not be forced into these homes, since such a mandate would mean that the state would intrude into matters of personal morality. "The process of ending welfare," Murray argues, "must unambiguously represent a withdrawal of the state from personal decisions, not new intrusions."

Other Countries

No Miracles from Asian Economies

Paul Krugman, "The Myth of Asia's Miracle," in Foreign Affairs *(November/December 1994), Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York, NY, 10021.*

Some economic alarmists warn that the economies of newly industrializing Asian nations are growing so rapidly they could soon overtake Western economies in importance. But Krugman, a Stanford University economist, believes these warnings are misguided. In his view, the people alarmed by Asian economic growth resemble those who years ago worried unnecessarily about the Soviet Union becoming the world's biggest economy.

When, in 1959, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev pounded his shoe on the United Nations podium and shouted "We will bury you!" he was making an economic boast that many Westerners took seriously. *Newsweek* warned that the Soviet Union was well on its way down "the high road to economic domination of the world." The same year, CIA director Allen Dulles told Congress that the Soviet economy could grow by up to 9 percent annually for the foreseeable future, which would make the gap between the Soviet and American economies "dangerously narrowed" by 1970.

These experts were wrong, Krugman argues, because they looked only at the resources the Soviets were accumulating (massive industrial plants, dams, roads) and did not examine whether Soviet planners were using these resources productively. By the late 1960s, economists had concluded that Soviet productivity was not increasing, and forecasts of Soviet economic growth headed sharply downward.

A similar analysis, Krugman believes, can be applied to Asian economies. Singapore's average economic growth rate of 8.5 percent, for instance, is the result of "perspiration rather than inspiration." In 1966, half of Singapore's workers had no formal schooling; crash educational efforts enabled two-thirds to complete high school by 1990. This transformation had strong positive effects on worker output, but it cannot be repeated. Krugman predicts the Singapore growth rate to slow as a result.

Similar constraints apply to other successful Asian economies, Krugman believes. Analysts such as the *Atlantic Monthly*'s James Fallows who believe that an "Asian system" of government-controlled industrial policy and protectionism will result in Asian economic supremacy ignore the failures of Asian economies to become more efficient and productive. If American factories can continue to improve productivity while their Asian rivals fail to do so, Asian economies will grow at a slower rate that prevents them from overtaking the United States. Those who extrapolate from current Asian growth rates to assume future Asian economic dominance, Krugman contends, "may well look almost as silly as 1960s-vintage forecasts of Soviet industrial supremacy did from the perspective of the Brezhnev years."

Science and Environment

Destructive Conservation

Roger A. Sedjo, "The Global Environmental Effects of Local Logging Cutbacks," in Resources *(Fall 1994), Resources for the Future, 1616 P Street NW, Washington, DC 20036.*

Environmentalists have successfully curbed timber harvests in the "old-growth" forests of the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia. But while most people assume that these reductions are environmentally beneficial, Sedjo, a Resources for the Future senior fellow, believes they could bring environmental damage. If the

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wood the world needs isn't going to come from the Pacific Northwest, he asks, where is it going to come from?

Timber harvest reductions of 30 percent in the Pacific Northwest and 20 percent in British Columbia rapidly caused world timber prices to double, reaching a peak in mid-1993. As a result, timber harvests in eastern Canada and the American South rose, and wood that would have been exported from western states to the Pacific Basin was replaced by supplies from New Zealand, Russia, and Chile.

So long as western American timber production remains low, other areas of the globe will fill the gap. Vast numbers of trees from the Amazon basin, Siberia, Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Argentina, and Scandinavia could be harvested for export.

Since logging restrictions in one region will not reduce world wood demand or production, Sedjo believes the issue "is not whether to log but where." Harvests in hilly regions are more likely to cause erosion and water quality problems and harvesting "old-growth" forests could destroy habitats and biodiversity, while harvests in Brazilian and Indonesian plantations are more environmentally benign. Substitutes for wood, such as metals and cement, are often produced in ecologically damaging ways too (such as mining), and they require more energy to produce than timber harvesting does.

Ecologists, says Sedjo, must realize that their well-intended local actions can result in global environmental damage elsewhere. He suggests that international organizations study where timber harvests would be most destructive and then take actions to avoid such damage. Conversely, efforts "in areas where that activity is likely to be most environmentally benign," timber harvesting should be encouraged.

Warning: Dangerous Regulators

W. Kip Viscusi, "The Dangers of Unbounded Risk Regulation Commitments." Paper presented at an American Enterprise Institute conference, October 27, 1994.

In their quest to improve American health and safety, some federal agencies are saving very few lives at immense cost. Viscusi, a Duke University economist, calculates that a land disposal regulation adopted by the EPA in 1987 saved 2.5 lives annually at a cost per life saved (in 1990 dollars) of $4.5 billion. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration adopted regulations in 1987 restricting the use of formaldehyde that saved .01 lives annually, according to Viscusi's calculations, at a cost per life saved of $92.7 billion.

Viscusi suggests that more rational rules on risk assessment are in order. "Ultimately," he writes, "some tradeoffs must be made as society decides how vigilant to be in promoting safety."

If government were unlimitedly vigilant in preventing risk, he notes, it would require that all Americans drink distilled water, since very small cancer risks can result from consuming the chlorine used to purify water. The government could also ban building construction, since most of the construction trades are inherently risky professions.

Instead of trying to prevent all risks, Viscusi proposes that regulators adopt a benefit-cost standard that sets the worth of a human life at $5 million, a figure that comes up in several valuation methods. A reasonable regulation would save lives at a cost less than $5 million per life. The 1984 decision to require cars to have passive restraints in cars, for instance, made sense because it saved 1,850 lives per year at a cost per life saved of $390,000. A 1984 regulation by the Federal Aviation Administration prohibiting flammable seat cushions in airplanes has saved 37 lives at a cost per life saved of $770,000.

Failure to make these benefit-cost calculations, Viscusi argues, may unnecessarily damage the economy. And excessive risk regulation will backfire if it carries serious economic penalties, because rising incomes are one of the most important influences on lower overall mortality rates. Regulators, Viscusi warns, must realize that the "unbounded commitment to saving statistical lives is not only fiscally irresponsible, but also endangers the health of the citizens whom the government is intending to protect."

Do Energy Conservation Programs Work?

Herbert Inhaber and Harry Saunders, "Road to Nowhere," in The Sciences *(November/December 1994), New York Academy of Sciences, 2 East 63rd Street, New York, NY, 10011.*

Energy conservation programs, from government automobile fuel efficiency requirements to utility company rebates on low-energy light bulbs, are popular these days. But Inhaber, a Westinghouse scientist, and Saunders, director of Decision and Risk Analysis, note one fundamental flaw in energy conservation programs—they do not conserve energy. Indeed, they may actually encourage energy consumption.

Consider the fuel efficiency (or CAFE) standards imposed after the Arab oil embargo of 1973. American cars did become more efficient. In the 1960s, the average American car ran 14 miles per gallon of gas; by 1989 this figure had risen to 21 miles per gallon. But gasoline use did not fall—it stayed constant at about 7 million barrels per day. Americans merely drove their newly efficient cars farther. They also bought more cars. Between 1975 and 1992, the number of cars owned increased by 75 percent and the number of miles driven by 62 percent.

Similar results emerged from Danish energy-conservation measures imposed in the 1970s. These measures made household appliances more efficient — the energy consumption of new washing machines and freezers fell by more than a quarter in Denmark between 1977 and 1986. But the cheaper costs of running appliances encouraged Danes to buy more products and thus use more electricity. The result: between 1978 and 1986, in spite of "sometimes draconian rules to save energy," Danish domestic electricity use rose by 20 percent.

Energy conservation, Inhaber and Saunders say, is worthwhile because the money people and companies redirect out of energy-efficient homes and offices can be used for other useful purposes, such as central air conditioning or exterior lighting. "Switching off that unneeded light," they conclude, may one day provide good things. "Just do not assume that it will reduce the world's consumption of energy."

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Pulse

Edited by Karlyn Bowman and Everett Carll Ladd

Data from the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research

There's Dissatisfaction, and Then There's Dissatisfaction

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Some issues are hard for pollsters to handle. Immigration—which we look at on pages 104–5—is one such topic. The situation is much the same with foreign aid, an issue that has confounded polling for many decades. Neither large-scale immigration nor a big foreign aid program are seen by the public as inherently wonderful—the way spending for Social Security or education is seen. Both have problems associated with them, including a shared one: The perception that the United States has quite enough to do solving its own needs without taking on new ones.

These impulses are picked up easily by polling. But in both the immigration and foreign aid cases there is another side to the story. We may not like foreign aid, but there are many cases where we see it in our country's interest to give it. Similarly, we may see problems with immigration, but we also believe that immigrants have contributed much to American life in virtually every dimension.

Also, we are altruistic and generous. These impulses coexist with hard-headed self-interest and some selfishness. We want to help others with foreign aid and to welcome newcomers through immigration. We believe in American responsibility and, yes, mission. We're proud that people would rather come to America to live than go anywhere else. Sifting through these conflicting factors requires paying attention to the body of both direct and indirect opinion in survey research data.

For some of the same reasons, poll findings on tax issues can be confusing. Few people like to pay taxes. They are one of those unavoidable facts of life and we almost always say that the amount we pay in taxes is too much. The long timeline shown on page 102 shows that at every point since March of 1947 when Gallup first asked the question, Americans have been more inclined to say the amount of federal income taxes they pay is too high than would say it is about right. Most often, the dissatisfied have been a lopsided majority of the population.

Should the above be taken to suggest that the tax issue has no more political weight than it did 50 years ago? Almost certainly not. For one thing, simply saying one's income tax is too high tells nothing about how strongly one feels that way or what political conclusions the sentiment might be encouraging.

If I believe the taxes I pay are higher than I would really like them to be, yet at the same time think I get pretty good value for my tax dollar, I am an unlikely participant in a tax protest. But let me conclude that the government to which I am straining to pay taxes has grown big and bloated, that it runs programs inefficiently and otherwise mismanages, my general dissatisfaction with taxes may become a real source of anger and action.

This is in fact what has happened. The data which we present on the page opposite are just a few among many showing that public dissatisfaction with government performance has risen to serious levels—and that is the key to understanding American ambivalence toward taxes, Washington, and public authorities generally.

Naturally enough in this environment, the government enlarging efforts of the Clinton administration in 1993 and1994—with regard to taxes, or even more dramatically, health care reform—met with strong public resistance. Majorities now fault Clinton for raising their taxes. And they are now looking to the GOP to get better control over taxes and spending.

—Everett Carll Ladd

Public dissatisfaction with government performance has risen to serious levels—and that is the key to understanding American ambivalence toward taxes, Washington, and public authorities generally.

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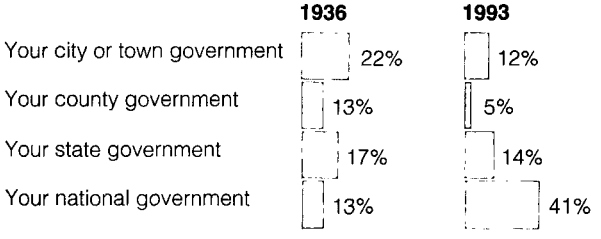
DISILLUSIONMENT WITH WASHINGTON

The federal government has to a considerable degree lost the trust of the American people. Three-quarters of the public think it is too large and powerful, six out of ten want it shrunk even if it costs them services. Very few think that what the federal government provides for tax money is a good value. Polling evidence points to a much more intense critique of federal government performance now than in the past.

Question: **Which do you find most costly to you...?**

Most costly to you

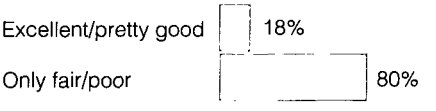


Source: Surveys by Roper Starch Worldwide Inc, latest that of August 1993.

Question: **How would you rate the value you personally get from the taxes you pay to the federal government...?**

1993

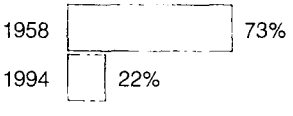
The value I get from the taxes paid to the federal government is



Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates for *Business Week*, October 14–18, 1993.

Question: **How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right?**

Can trust the government in Washington to do what is right most of the time/always

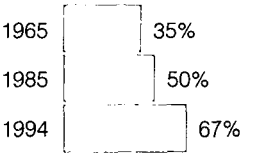


Source: Survey by University of Michigan National Election Study (1958) and CBS News/*New York Times*, October 29–November 1, 1994.

Question: **In your opinion, which of the following do you think will be the biggest threat to the country in the future?**

Big government

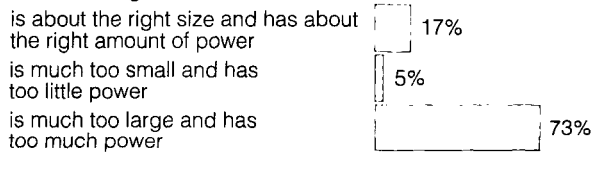
Biggest threat to the country in the future



Source: the Gallup Organization (1965, 1985), the Roper Center for *Reader's Digest* (1994).

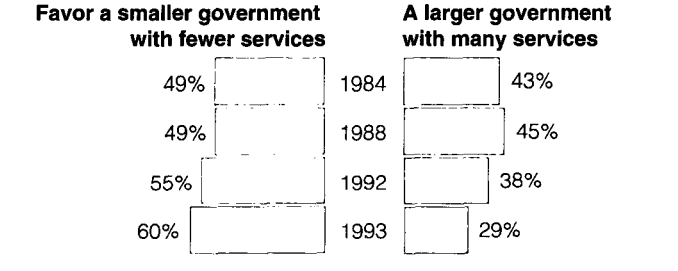
Question: **Now I would like you to think for a moment about our federal government and specifically about all of the things both good and bad, that it does. Which of the following statements do you agree with the most...?**

The federal government...



Source: Survey by Luntz Research Companies, November 9, 1994.

Question: **Which do you say you favor...**



Source: Survey by ABC News/*Washington Post*, latest that of July 1–8, 1992 and *Los Angeles Times*, June 12–24, 1993.

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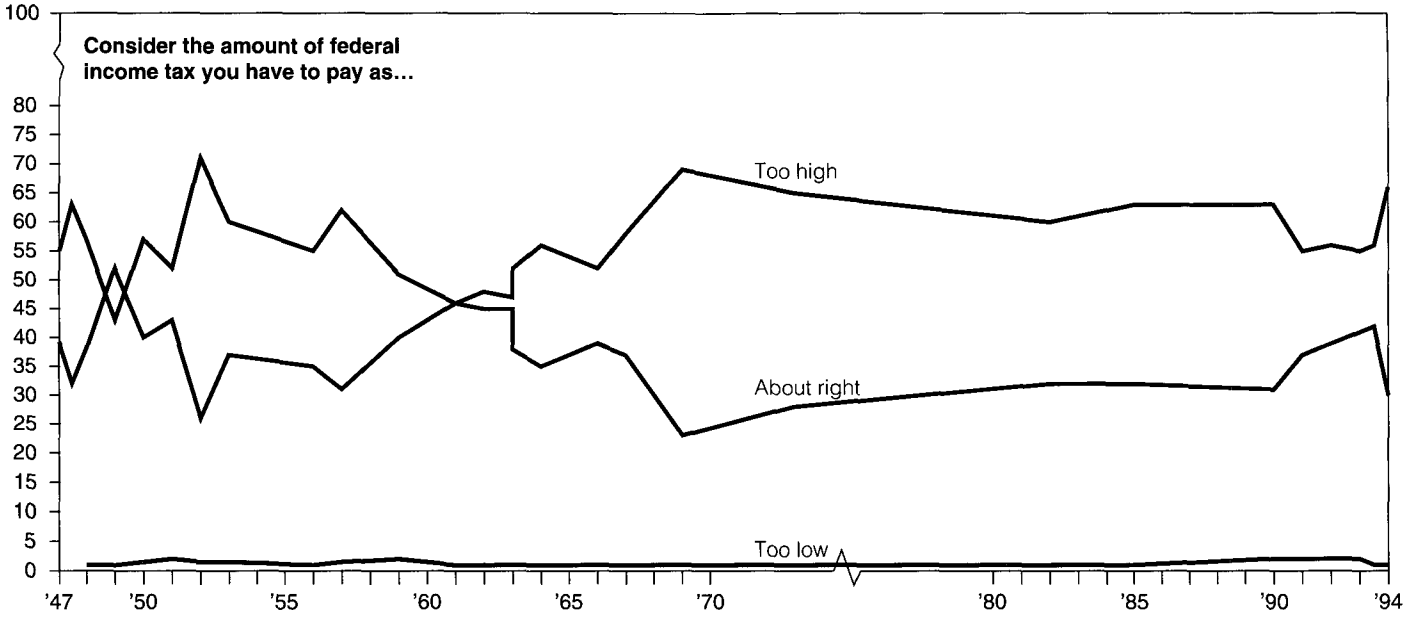
TAKING OUR TEMPERATURE ON TAXES

Nearly 50 years of Gallup polls show a persistent belief that the taxes we pay are too high. Today the tax that Americans resent most, and consider least fair, is the federal income tax. Local property taxes have on occasion vied for that dubious honor.

Question: **Do you consider the amount of federal income tax you have to pay as too high, about right, or too low?**



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, latest that of December 16–18, 1994.

Amount of federal income tax you pay is...

	too high	about right	too low
Dec. 1994	66%	30%	1%
April 1994	56	42	1
Mar. 1993	55	41	2
Mar. 1992	56	39	2
Mar. 1991	55	37	2
Mar. 1990	63	31	2
June 1985	63	32	1
May 1982	60	32	*
Feb. 1973	65	28	1
Mar. 1969	69	23	1
Mar. 1967	58	37	1
Feb. 1966	52	39	*
Feb. 1964	56	35	1
Jan. 1963	52	38	1
June	47	45	1
Feb. 1962	48	45	*
Feb. 1961	46	46	1
Mar. 1959	51	40	2
April 1957	62	31	*
Feb. 1956	55	35	1
Feb. 1953	60	37	*
Feb. 1952	71	26	*
Feb. 1951	52	43	2
Feb. 1950	57	40	*
Mar. 1949	43	52	1
Mar. 1948	57	38	1
Nov.	63	32	*
Mar. 1947	54	40	*

The Worst Tax

Question: **Which do you think is the worst tax—that is, the least fair?**

Worst tax is the...

	Federal income tax	State income tax	State sales tax	Local property tax
1993	36%	10%	16%	26%
1991	26%	12	19	30
1989	27%	10	18	32
1988	33%	10	18	28
1987	30%	12	21	24
1986	37%	8	17	28
1985	38%	10	16	24
1984	36%	10	15	29
1983	35%	11	13	26
1982	36%	11	14	30
1981	36%	9	14	33
1980	36%	10	19	25
1979	37%	8	15	27
1978	30%	11	18	32
1977	28%	11	17	33
1975	28%	11	29	29
1974	30%	10	20	28
1973	30%	10	20	31
1972	19%	13	18	45

Source: Surveys by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, latest that of June 25–July 5, 1993.

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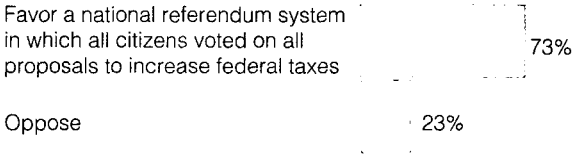
Raising Taxes

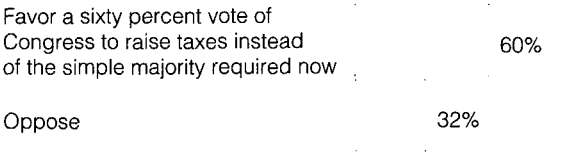
Americans' frustration with what they get for their taxes leads to strong support for sweeping reforms, such as national referendums on tax increases. The public is very skeptical about the willingness of politicians to cut taxes. Bill Clinton's promises notwithstanding, pluralities say their taxes went up in 1993. While Americans are not sure that their experience with Republicans will differ, they have much more confidence in the GOP than in President Clinton when it comes to protecting their wallets.

Question: **Would you favor or oppose having a national referendum system in which all citizens voted on all proposals to increase federal taxes—voting either for or against them—before they became law?**



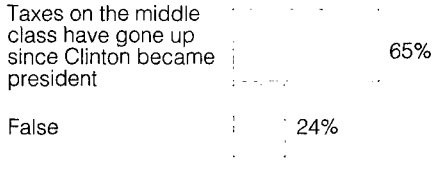
Source: Surveys by Yankelovich Partners, Inc. for *Time* and CNN, September 1, 1994.

Question: **Would you favor or oppose requiring a sixty percent vote of Congress to raise taxes, instead of the simple majority required now?**



Source: Survey by Hart and Teeter Research Companies for NBC News/*Wall Street Journal*, December 10–13, 1994.

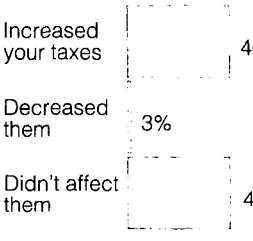
Question: **I'm going to read you some statements about things that have been in the news lately. To the best of your knowledge, tell me if you think each statement is true or false. Taxes on the middle class have gone up since Clinton became president.**



Source: Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates for *Newsweek*, October 27–28, 1994.

Question: **Did President Clinton's economic plan increase your taxes, decrease your taxes, or didn't it affect your taxes at all?**

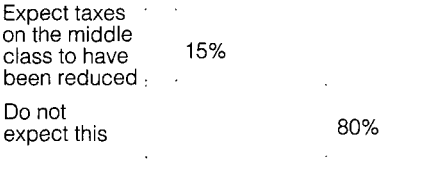
President Clinton's economic plan...



Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times* September 8–11, 1994.

Question: **By the end of President Bill Clinton's term in office, do you expect taxes on the middle class to have been reduced, or not?**

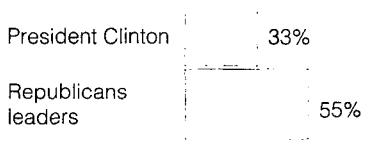
By the end of Bill Clinton's term in office



Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, January 15–17, 1994.

Question: **Who do you have the most confidence in when it comes to handling the following problems...?**

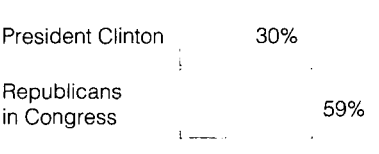
Have the most confidence when it comes to taxes



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for CNN and *USA TODAY*, December 2–5, 1994.

Question: **For each specific issue, please tell me who you trust to do a better job on that issue...**

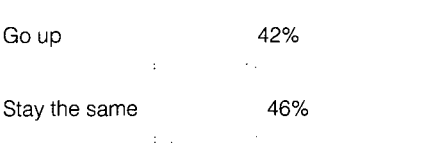
Trust to do a better job on cutting taxes



Source: Survey by ABC News/*Washington Post*, January 3–4, 1995.

Question: **With the Republicans in control of both the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate, do you think your taxes will...?**

With Republicans in control of the House and Senate, think your taxes will



Source: Survey by CBS News, November 27–28, 1994.

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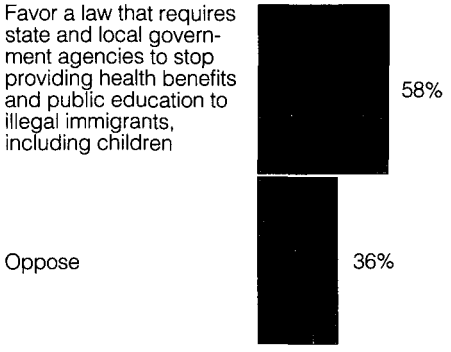
AMBIVALENCE TOWARD IMMIGRATION

At least three recent polls suggest that there is substantial support for a national Proposition 187-like measure to deny social services to undocumented aliens. The proposal swept California with only Hispanics, Democrats, and those with postgraduate training opposing it, and it looks like results would be similar nationwide. However, in two other states with substantial numbers of immigrants—Texas and Florida—immigration ranked much lower as a priority for voters than it did in California.

California's Prop. 187: A Harbinger of Things to Come?

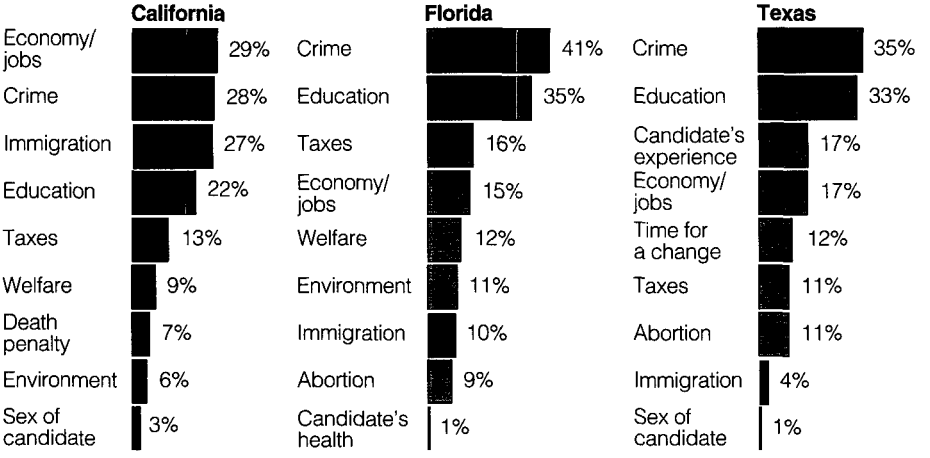
Question: **Do you favor or oppose having a law in your state—similar to Proposition 187 in California—that requires state and local government agencies to stop providing health benefits and public education to illegal immigrants, including children?**



Note: Sixty-seven percent of Republicans, 52% of Democrats, and 56% of Independents favored such a law.
Source: Survey by Yankelovich Partners for *Time* and CNN, December 7–8, 1994.

Percentage of 1994 voters saying these issues mattered most to them in casting their votes

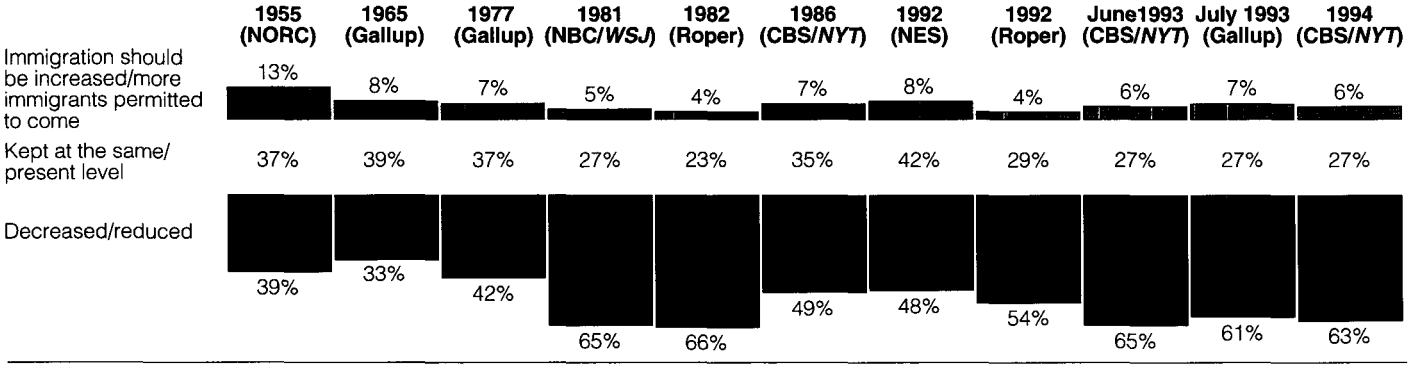
Gubernatorial contests



Source: Survey by Voter News Service, November 8, 1994.

Reduce the Flow

Question: **In general, do you think the United States is letting too many immigrants come into this country or not enough? (NORC); In recent years, there has been a lot of discussion about the number of immigrants allowed into our country. On the whole, would you say that you would like to see the number of immigrants allowed to enter our country increased, or would you like to see the number decreased, or do you think we are letting in about the right number now? (Roper); Now I would like to ask you some questions about immigrants—people who come from other countries to live here in the United States. In your view should immigration be kept at its present level, increased, or decreased? (Gallup); Do you think the United States should allow more immigration to this country, less immigration, or about the same amount of immigration? (NBC/AP); Should immigration to the United States be kept at its present level, increased, or decreased? (CBS/*NYT*); Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased a little, increased a lot, decreased a little, decreased a lot, or left the same as it is now? (University of Michigan NES)**



Source: See organizations listed above.

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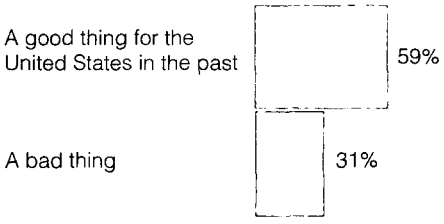
Are Immigrants a Boon or a Bane?

Since pollsters first started posing the question, there has been little support for increasing immigration. Polls for the last decade have shown pluralities or majorities wanting to reduce it. Still, significant numbers of Americans value highly the contributions immigrants make, and believe it would be a mistake to send those already here away.

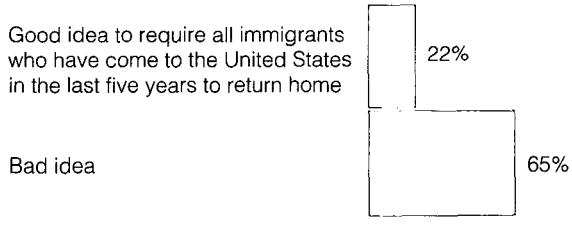
Question: **Next, I have some questions about immigration to this country—people coming from other countries to live in the United States. On the whole, do you think immigration has been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States in the past?**

Immigration has been...



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for *Newsweek*, July 29–30, 1993.

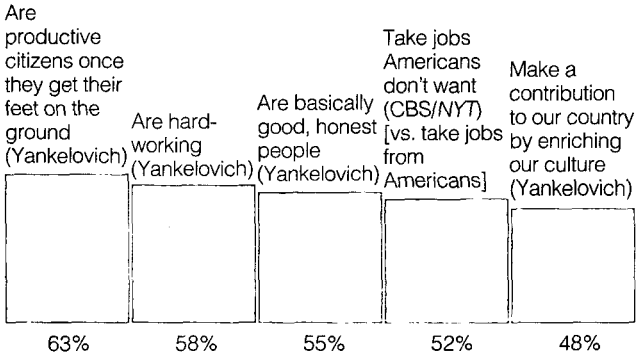
Question: **Do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea to require all immigrants who have come to the United States in the last five years to return to the country they came from?**

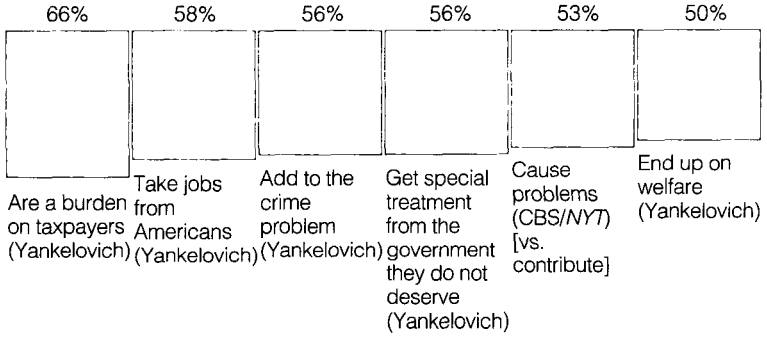


Source: Survey by the CBS News/*New York Times*, January 3–5, 1994.

The Pluses and the Minuses

Question: **I'm going to read you some statements that are sometimes made about people who have immigrated from other countries in the last 10 to 15 years. As I read each, please tell me, in general, whether you think that statement applies to immigrants moving here in the past 10 or 15 years or does not apply? (Yankelovich Partners for *Time* and CNN). Overall, would you say most recent immigrants to the United States contribute to this country, or do most of them cause problems? Do you think immigrants coming to this country mostly take jobs away from American citizens, or do they mostly take jobs Americans don't want? (CBS/*NYT*)**





Source: Surveys by Yankelovich Partners for *Time* and CNN, September 21–24, 1994 and CBS News/*New York Times*, January 3–5, 1994.

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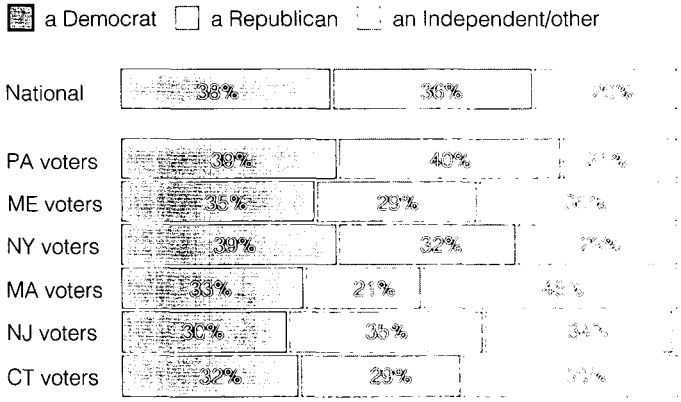
POLITICAL ATTITUDES IN THE NORTHEASTERN STATES

Looking at polling data from a cluster of states in the Northeast shows some similarities in outlook. Take the matter of partisan and political identification. Northeastern voters are generally more independent and less Republican than elsewhere. More self-identified liberals were found in Massachusetts and New York on election day than anywhere else in the nation. In states in the Northeast where poll data are available, crime is thought to be a big problem statewide, though less so in the local neighborhoods of poll respondents. Northeasterners are also generally more likely than others to approve of the job Clinton is doing.

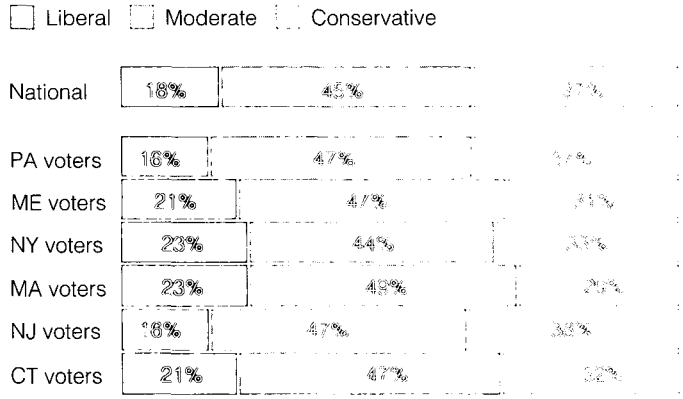
Question: **No matter how you voted today, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, Republican, Independent, or something else?**

Think of yourself as



Question: **On most political matters do you consider yourself liberal, moderate, or conservative?**

Consider yourself

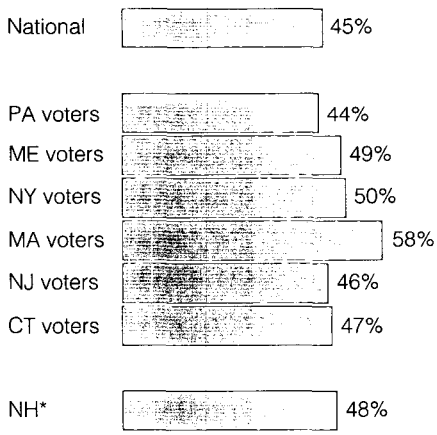


Source: Survey by Voter News Service, November 8, 1994.

Clinton

Question: **Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President?**

Approve of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president



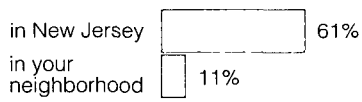
Note: New Hampshire data are from the 1994 New Hampshire Policy Survey conducted by the Institute for Policy and Social Science Research, March 1994.
Source: Survey by Voter News Service, November 8, 1994.

Crime

Question: **How serious do you feel crime is in New Jersey? How serious is crime in your neighborhood**

New Jersey residents

Crime is a very serious problem

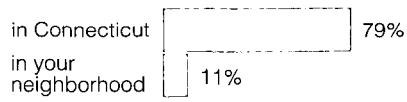


Source: Survey by the Eagleton Poll for *The Star Ledger*, June 14–22, 1994.

Question: **How serious a problem would you say crime is now in Connecticut? And how serious a problem is crime in your own neighborhood?**

Connecticut residents

Crime is a very serious problem now



Source: Survey by the Institute for Social Inquiry for the *Hartford Courant*, November 9–15, 1993.

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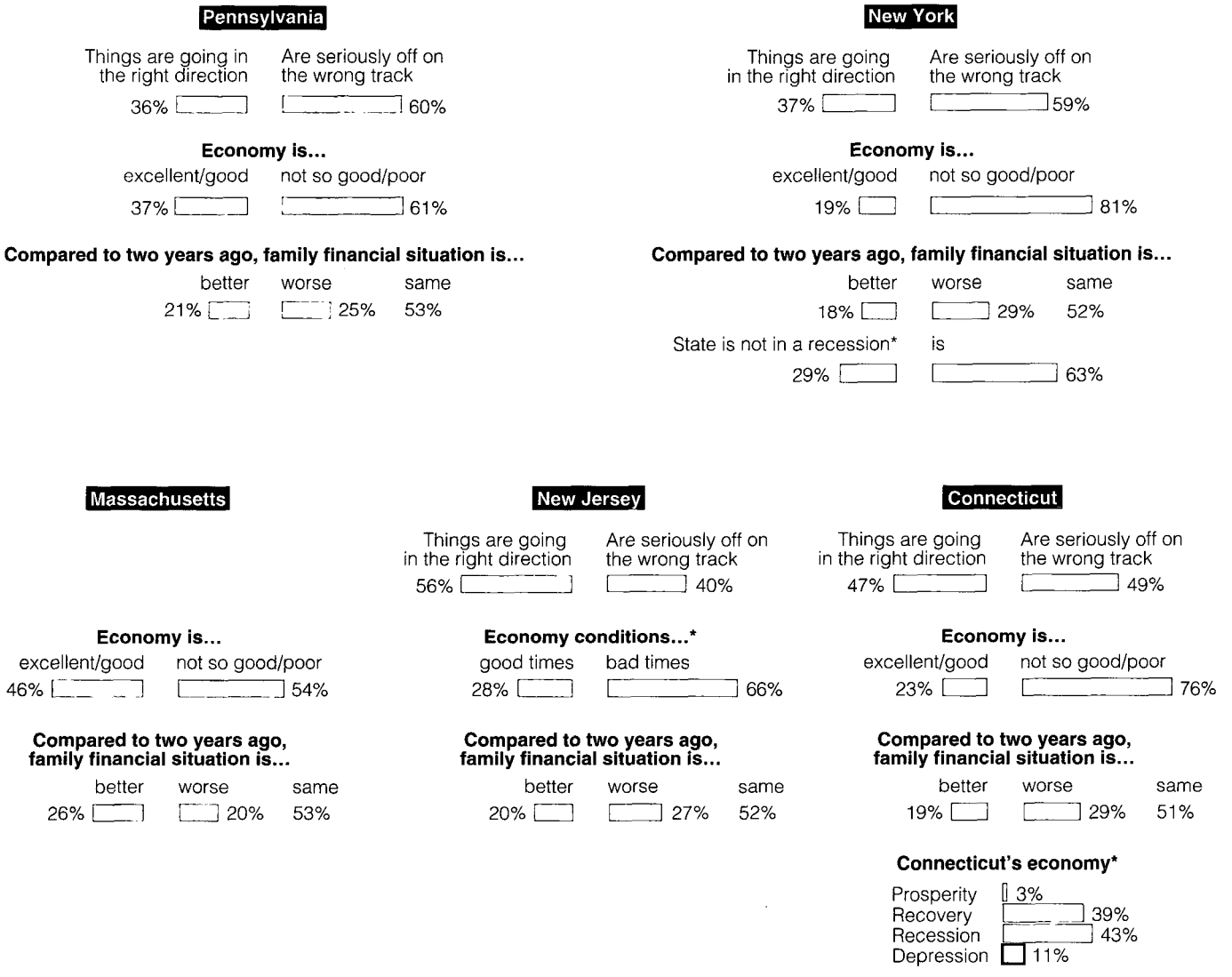
Pessimism on the Regional Economy

While most Northeasterners say their state is off on the wrong track and not headed in the right direction, residents of New Jersey are feeling more optimistic in this regard these days. Overall, though, the economic mood of the region is glum.

Question: **Do you think things in this state today are generally going in the right direction or seriously off on the wrong track? (Mitofsky)**

Question: **Do you think the condition of this state's economy is excellent, good, not so good, or poor? (VNS)**

Question: **Compared to two years ago, is your family's financial situation better today, worse today, or about the same? (VNS)**



Note: For New Jersey, a *Star Ledger*/Eagleton poll in October 1994, 49% said things were going in the right direction, 39% said wrong direction.
Source: Survey by Voter News Service and Mitofsky International, November 8, 1994. *For New York, a Marist College poll from September 1994; for New Jersey, a *Star Ledger*/Eagleton poll taken in February 1994; for Connecticut, Institute for Social Inquiry/*Hartford Courant* poll taken June 1994.

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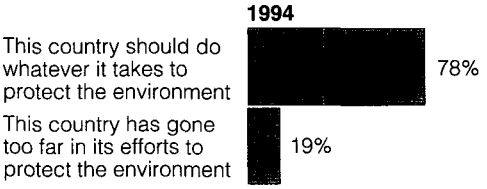
ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

A poll conducted in December for the National Wildlife Federation purports to show that "support for the environment and the laws that support it" is strong and bipartisan. In commenting on the results, a Federation spokeman said that," protecting our health, our natural resources, and our children's future is not a partisan matter." As a general proposition, that is correct.

Question: **Now I'm going to read you some more pairs of statements. As I read each pair, tell me whether the first statement or the second statement comes closer to your own views—even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is...**

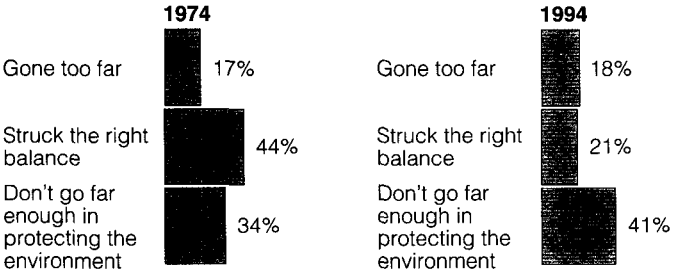
Comes closer to your own views



Note: Sixty-two percent felt "strongly" that this country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment, 16% felt "not strongly" about it.
Source: Survey by the Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press, July 12–25, 1994.

Question: **There are also different opinions about how far we've gone with environmental protection laws and regulations. At the present time, do you think environmental protection laws and regulations have gone too far, or not far enough, or have struck about the right balance? (Roper, 1974)**
Question: **In general, when you think about the current laws and regulations for protecting the environment, would you say those laws go too far, seem to strike the right balance, or don't go far enough in protecting the environment? (Hart Research, 1994)**

Environmental laws and regulations



Note: In 1994, 15% volunteered that it depends; that some laws and regulations have been good and some bad.
Source: Survey by Roper Starch Worldwide, Inc., 1974 and Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc. for the National Wildlife Federation, December 1994.

Where Environmental Concerns Rank

Question: **Here is a list of things people have told us they are concerned about today. (Card shown respondent). Would you read over that list and then tell me which 2 or 3 you personally are most concerned about today.**

Are most concerned about today

	1974	1977	1983	1988	1991	1994
Crime and lawlessness	30%	40%	33%	33%	39%	51%
Drug abuse	23%	21%	17%	32%	35%	32%
The way the courts are run	20%	27%	27%	21%	22%	29%
The spread of AIDS	*	*	*	43%	21%	26%
The rising cost of health care	*	*	*	*	23%	26%
Money enough to live right and pay bills	25%	28%	27%	24%	24%	24%
The way young people think and act	10%	17%	11%	19%	14%	22%
Wrong doing by officials	40%	22%	17%	24%	22%	22%
The quality of public education	*	*	*	*	22%	22%
The homeless	*	*	*	25%	19%	19%
Inflation and high prices	56%	48%	46%	28%	30%	19%
A recession/rising unemployment	15%	19%	50%	16%	27%	18%
Relations between races ethnic groups	*	*	*	*	*	17%
Tension and conflict around the world	*	*	*	*	*	15%
Our relations with foreign countries	18%	9%	17%	23%	17%	15%
Reducing the federal deficit	*	*	*	*	*	12%
POLLUTION OF AIR AND WATER	12%	13%	8%	14%	23%	12%
Alcoholism	*	7%	6%	9%	10%	10%
Drunk driving	*	*	*	*	8%	9%
A fuel and energy shortage	46%	31%	13%	5%	5%	3%

Note: Not all askings of the questions are shown. *indicates category not used.
Source: Survey by Roper Starch Worldwide Inc., latest that of July 16-23, 1994.

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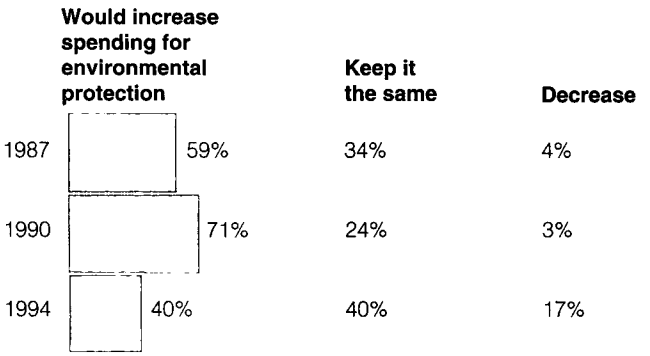
More On Environmental Protection

Environmental problems generally rank low compared to other priorities, however. Fewer Americans than in the past are saying that we need to increase environmental spending. The issue has become particularly contentious at the regional and state level. Voters in nine Western states were asked about Clinton land use and environmental policies, and in eight of them, more felt his policies had been harmful than helpful.

Worries About Environmental Costs

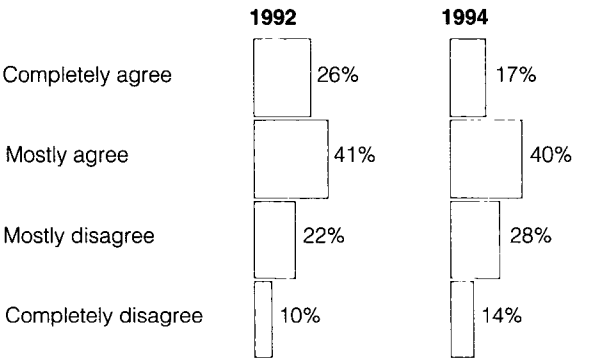
Question: **If you were making up the federal budget this year would you increase spending for..., decrease spending for..., or keep spending the same for this?**



Source: Surveys by the Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press, latest that of December 1–4, 1994.

Question: **Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree, or completely disagree with it.**

People should be willing to pay higher prices in order to protect the environment

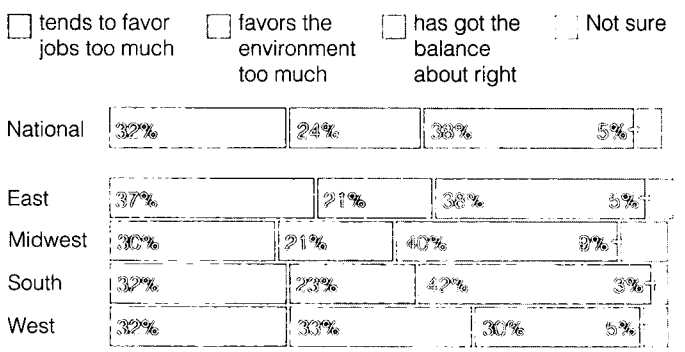


Source: Survey by the Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press, July 12–25, 1994.

Regional Variations

Question: **Sometimes there are arguments between people who want to protect their jobs—in industry or in logging, for example—and those who want to protect the environment. In general do you feel that government policy tends to favor jobs too much, favor the environment too much, or has it got the balance about right?**

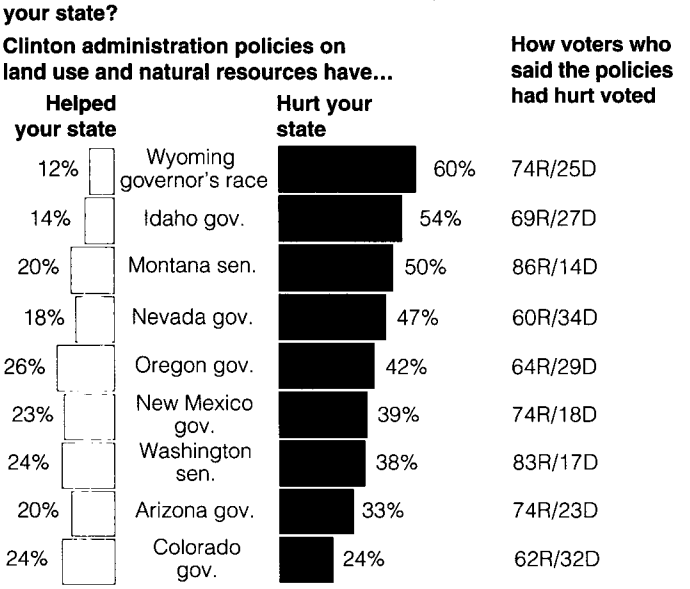
Government policy...



Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates, April 28–May 3, 1993.

Concern in the West

Question: **Have Clinton administration policies on land use and natural resources: helped your state, hurt your state, not effected your state?**



Source: Survey by Voter News Service (VNS), November 8, 1994.

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Mail

The American Enterprise welcomes your comments. Send to "The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax to (202) 862-7178. Or e-mail 75272,1226@compuserve.com. Please include your address and phone number. Published letters may be edited for length and clarity.

I am writing to say how much I enjoyed the first issue of *The American Enterprise* in its new version. I was surprised at how much was genuinely insightful and novel—it did not read like the same old conservative palaver. I particularly enjoyed the various short pieces at the front of the magazine.

Keep up the good work!

Michael Pack
Manifold Productions
Washington, D.C.

In his otherwise excellent rundown on state ballot measures, Grover Norquist (SCAN, January/February) heaps blame for the defeat of Oregon's Measure 5 (a tax limitation measure) on teachers' unions. Measure 5 was, as Mr. Norquist points out, "terribly worded"—it would have subjected even miniscule public expenditures to voter approval—but its defeat came about with a hefty push from Associated Oregon Industries, our equivalent of a state chamber of commerce.

I hold no brief for greedy teachers' unions, but let's also give big business the blame it deserves for helping to foster big government.

Tom Holt
Capital Research Center
Beaverton, Oregon

I just browsed through the January/February issue of your magazine. It is extremely well done and welcome—even if Christopher Hitchens didn't fit in the otherwise great "Pariahs" roundtable. I look forward to reading future issues.

Paul Budline
Via Compuserve

I hate to disappoint Rick Henderson, your Environmental ECONOMIST columnist (January/February), but the Sierra Club is not "tottering toward bankruptcy." We downsized our 1995 budget by about 10 percent because we had been spending our reserves but no longer felt this was prudent. Now membership is growing again.

What baffles me about the conservative response to environmental problems is its essentially whiny character. In other areas conservatives advocate solutions to problems. Most conservative commentary on environmental problems, however, dismisses them as overblown. And few conservative commentators will acknowledge that the "risk analysis" they favor gives some parties the right to pollute the air and water used by other citizens. Where in a free society does a petroleum refinery get the right to put benzene into my lungs without my consent?

It is not difficult to design environmental policies that would better fit conservative approaches than those embodied in the current generation of environmental laws. Eliminating subsidies to mining and timber companies and taxing pollution instead of employment might be a good place to start.

But somehow when such approaches are suggested it is the much-maligned moderate wing of the Republican party that embraces them, while conservative senators and congressmen continue to represent the commodity interests of their home districts and states.

And who ends up fighting for these rational reforms? The "hidebound" Sierra Club and similar environmental organizations.

Carl Pope
Executive Director, Sierra Club
San Francisco, California

Rick Henderson replies:
Mr. Pope's letter suggests why environmental advocacy groups like the Sierra Club are "downsizing": they portray any attempt to question the effectiveness of centralized, top-down regulations as right-wing whining or outright nuttiness. His vision is being rejected, as anyone would recognize who saw Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.), principal sponsor of last year's California Desert Protection Act, take the floor of the Senate on January 11 to assail unfunded environmental *mandates.*

Mr. Pope incorrectly characterizes pollution as a "problem" that can be "solved" with sufficiently tough regulations. Pollution is instead an unavoidable consequence of human and animal activity. The challenge today is to construct policies, using such tools as cost-benefit analyses, that minimize risks to human health while preserving individual rights and the dynamic processes of a market economy. As for his assertion that risk assessment is a euphemism for the "right to pollute," I can only assume that Mr. Pope occasionally uses an automobile and heats his home. Where do his *benzene emissions go?*

I'm reading your first issue and finding it impressive. I was particularly touched by the article by Louis Nanni, who wrote of the homeless and their "disconnectedness." I am gathering data for a book on the weakening of family attachments and believe that the homeless typically have weak family bonds.

Brenda Hunter, Ph.D
Vienna, Virginia

The premier issue of the newly remade *The American Enterprise* looks fabulous! Keep up the good work!

Betsy McCaughey
Lt. Governor, New York State

Congratulations on the new version of the magazine. Except for the Phil Gramm interview (it starts off reading like a Gramm promotional brochure) it's a solid effort. I actually read nearly all the pages, which I only do with a handful of magazines. Hope future issues go as well.

Gregg Easterbrook
Arlington, Virginia

I was intrigued by your article on None of the Above voting (JOURNAL, January/February). I had heard about the option existing in Eastern Europe, where only Party members could run for office and everybody had to vote. We were not so lucky at the Wellesley College of my youth. It was the spring of 1969 and Hillary Rodham was finishing her term as president. Her successor was nominated unopposed, thus guaranteed election. Somehow this didn't seem right, so an impromptu write-in campaign for the fictitious Wendy Wellesley sprang up. If she were elected, college government would be revealed for the fiction it was. Many of us voted this, in effect, "None of the Above" ticket.

We never knew how many, though, because the write-in was declared illegal and the unopposed candidate installed. But it must have been many, for shortly thereafter a new regulation was introduced: No one could enter the dining halls without having voted in the election. It may have been that year (the dates are blurry in my memory) that we elected Strobe Talbott's sister Page as president, again running unopposed. Her most memorable act was to recommend that Wellesley abolish its single-sex identity. Not long after, Suzanne McTigue (the future Mrs. Ira Magaziner) was shooed-in to the same post.

At the time, we didn't think these things were very important. Looking back, though, I wonder if Wellesley's singular politics may have given some people an odd idea of how elections are supposed to work.

Mary Elizabeth Podles
Baltimore, Maryland

I am writing in response to George Gilder's "Don't Blame

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I.Q." article (SCAN, January/February). Gilder blames the welfare system for "usurp(ing) the male roles of father and provider" and argues the system should be reduced. Has Gilder uncovered a sect of teenage fathers desperately trying to provide for their children but turned away by sneering mothers waving welfare checks? There are valid arguments for stopping welfare payments, but this is not one of them.

Gilder's most blatant attempt to deny women advancement lies in his advocacy of single-sex classes, in which men would apply the "aggressiveness, mechanical aptitude, and mathematical skills that have long sustained the male provider role." Yes, males consistently have higher mathematical scores, but studies show that males receive preferential treatment in mathematics courses. Given equal opportunity, females can match or exceed male mathematical aptitudes. We should focus on developing the strong male *and* female math students our country sorely lacks.

Amy L. Thompson
Washington, DC

I just finished reading the new *TAE*. Terrific job! If you can sustain this level of quality, I believe you will have a real winner on your hands. I look forward to more in the coming months.

David Blankenhorn
Institute for American Values
New York, New York

In the January/February issue (SCAN) you reported that "hoary chairman of the Government Operations Committee, Jack Brooks [was] among several gun-controlling clay pigeons blasted out of the congressional sky by [NRA] members."

Hoary, perhaps, but definitely not chairman of Government Operations. Gentleman Jack chaired the House Judiciary Committee, which drafted the much-loathed ban on assault weapons. In doing so, Chairman Brooks managed to draw concentrated fire in one of the most gun-toting congressional districts in the nation, becoming one of two incumbent Texas Democrats to lose in November.

Brent R. Orrell
Washington, D.C.

The fine pieces in the "Blueprints for a new world of welfare" section of the January/February *TAE* plangently remind us how well-intentioned government policy can result in major disasters.

Perhaps with 30 years of hindsight on the Great Society we may now recognize the 200-year-old wisdom of Adam Smith:

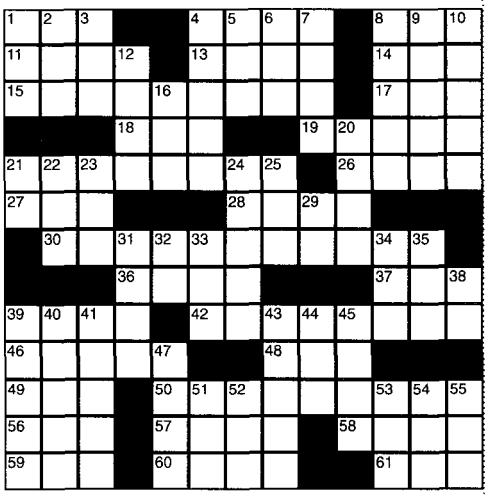
"The man of system...seems to imagine that he can arrange the different members of a great society with as much ease as the hand arranges the different pieces upon a chess board. He does not consider that...in the great chess-board of human society, every single piece has a principle of motion of its own, altogether different from that which the legislature might choose to impress upon it."

Paul D'Andrea
Chicago, Illinois

CORRECTION: Due to a typographical and then an editing error, the first paragraph of David Henderson's SCAN item in our January/February issue was inaccurate. The article should have begun: "Few now remember that one of the main reasons President Clinton gave for wanting to reform health care was to reduce the growth of spending on Medicare and Medicaid. Government outlays for health care have risen much faster than private spending...." We regret the error.

BioGraph

By Jonathan Schmalzbach



ACROSS

1 Loose Buchanan in Republican ragout
4 Apt middle name of J.C. Penney
8 Fort _____, California
11 Harbinger
13 Vicinity
14 United _____
15 Main flavor in Republican ragout
17 Zip
18 Renowned lexicon: abbr.
19 U.S. composer who enlisted in the Marines at age 13
21 Aged ingredient in Rep. ragout.
26 C-_____
27 Kin of POW
28 Artificial manner
30 Active ingredient in Rep. ragout
36 Deep in thought
37 Neither's tagalong
39 Black Congressman famous for urging "color blind" government; _____ Clayton Powell
42 Just a pinch in the Rep. ragout
46 Chekhov uncle
48 "Bali_____"
49 1992 Earth Summit site
50 Will serve Republican ragout
56 Republicans' least favorite agency
57 Barrymore who recently bared more
58 George Hormel's canned concoction
59 The caustic liquid, not the politician's vice
60 Capitol Hill's gentry
61 _____-night doubleheader

DOWN

1 Virginia Clemm's husband
2 Immigrant novelist Tan
3 Norman's starting point
4 _____ _____ attitude
5 We _____ The World
6 Emulate Betsy Ross
7 Items in Bella Abzug's closet
8 Confess
9 Glasnost's better half
10 Most know Bob Zimmerman by this last name
12 American emigrant Queen of the East Bank
16 Opposite of masc.
20 Greek peak
21 Initials of U.S. immigrant author of The Magic Mountain
22 Concealed
23 Egypt, from '61 to '71: abbr.
24 Ross Perot's sucker
25 Congressman Leach does it in whitewater
29 Initials of President current Americans rank as "best in my lifetime"
31 Lifelong employer of the President who warned against "military industrial complex"
32 Home to the NEA and Bay of Pigs President: abbr.
33 Antonym: abbr.
34 What you say after going to ell
35 Jersey greeting
38 Magazine founded by DeWitt Wallace: abbr.
39 Haitian dictator Prospero
40 Whey station
41 Parris Glendening won by ___ _____
43 What a devotee of Wrigley does
44 Winding of jazz
45 P.J., Flo, and Dave
47 What Bill Gates does with his money every day
51 Home state of 42 across
52 What Communism's first czar would be if he dropped in
53 Choose
54 Caterpillar nemesis
55 1979's disasters were Iran, Chrysler, and _____

The solution for BioGraph is on page 112.

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Names in the News

Normal, Neat, Nice, and Shocking

Ye fellow bearers of weird names: my last month's mail brought comforting news. While writing to say he liked "Names in the News," researcher **John Miller** shared this plaintive tale: "I'm also afflicted with a name-plague—there are too many John Millers! Two of us shared my college dorm, there are 16 in the DC phone book....When I signed onto America Online for the first time the computer rejected the moniker "JohnJMiller" and came up with the unappealing solution "JMiller103." I eventually turned to the name of my cat, Skeeter, which worked. So to all the Zinsmeisters and Thomaseses of the world, I feel your pain. But we Millers, Smiths, and Browns have problems too!" (John, meet me at the end of the lunch line immediately.)

If John thinks he has identity problems, he should try being **George Foreman**. Anyone who's ever seen the champ in a pair of boxing trunks knows that there's a *lot* of George Foreman. But I'll bet you didn't know there are five of him. Yup. The man has four sons, ranging in age from young adult to toddler. And guess what? Every one of them is named George Foreman. Would you want to answer the phone in that household?

Building on the happy feeling with which this column has begun, I'd next like to pay tribute to some names I've come across recently that are (to use a technical term) "neat." I'm thinking along the lines of last year's Olympic skiing sensation **Picabo Street** (for those of you who lived quietly in 1994, it's pronounced "Peek-a-boo"). Born and raised in **Triumph**, Idaho (to a dad named **Stubby**), Picabo is one of the all-time greats in the name game. My latest discovery in this vein is **Delight Sticker**, a nurse who works in the maternity ward of our local hospital. Delight can catch my babies any time.

Another name that recently brought a warm and fuzzy beam of light into an otherwise gray moment (I'm talking here about reading a *Washington Post* story on Canada) is **Art Hanger**. I like the sense of humor of that Canadian's parents. A zippy name that initially struck me as inappropriate is that of the 1950s film star **Victor Mature**. "Victor Mature is a great name for a heartthrob," you're thinking. Well, yes—except this actor specialized in Biblical epics, not panting soap operas. But then I recalled C. S. Lewis' remark that people who can't understand the Bible shouldn't be reading adult books anyway, and I decided that maybe Victor's name fits after all. One final name in the "neato" category floated into my view while I was visiting in-laws in Massachusetts last month. The morning newscaster on Boston's Channel 4, I discovered, is a fellow named **Joe Shortsleeve**. That meant a lot to me on a bleary-eyed infant chasing dawn, so thanks for the memory, Joe.

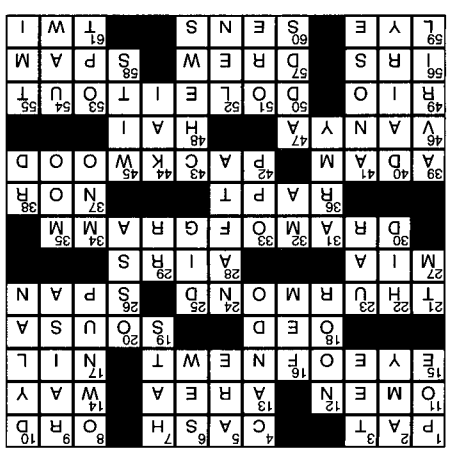
It must be the afterglow of the holidays, because in addition to neato names I've also been collecting "nice" ones. As a recent convert to a complicated new computer system I can't tell you how thrilled I was to learn that there is a phone rep at the IBM consumer HelpCenter named **Sandra Friend**. (Another woman who *ought* to be taking my tech support questions is **Karen McQuestion** of Butler, Wisconsin.) Then there's **Joseph Dear**, head of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. Cuddly image. I bet guys who run construction firms have other names for him, though. In the Gallup organization a pleasant librarian named **Kim Neighbor** has often been a good one to me. And how about **Thomas Nicely**, the Lynchburg College mathematician who, I'm sure many of you noticed, discovered the ballyhooed flaw in the Pentium micro-processor. Can't get any nicer than that. (The folks at Intel may disagree.)

Maybe the sweetest name of all in this month's batch (I promise to be ruder next issue) belongs to Milwaukee police captain **Carl Sincere**. Is that non-threatening or what? I was thinking that's about as good a name as any police officer can have, until a few days later I came upon a starkly alternate example that I decided might be even more useful. The Special Operations Section of the South Bend, Indiana police force is home to perhaps the coolest-named cop in America: **Sargeant Wanda Shock**. Tear 'em up, Sarge.

—KZ

Answers to Biograph

(see puzzle page 111)



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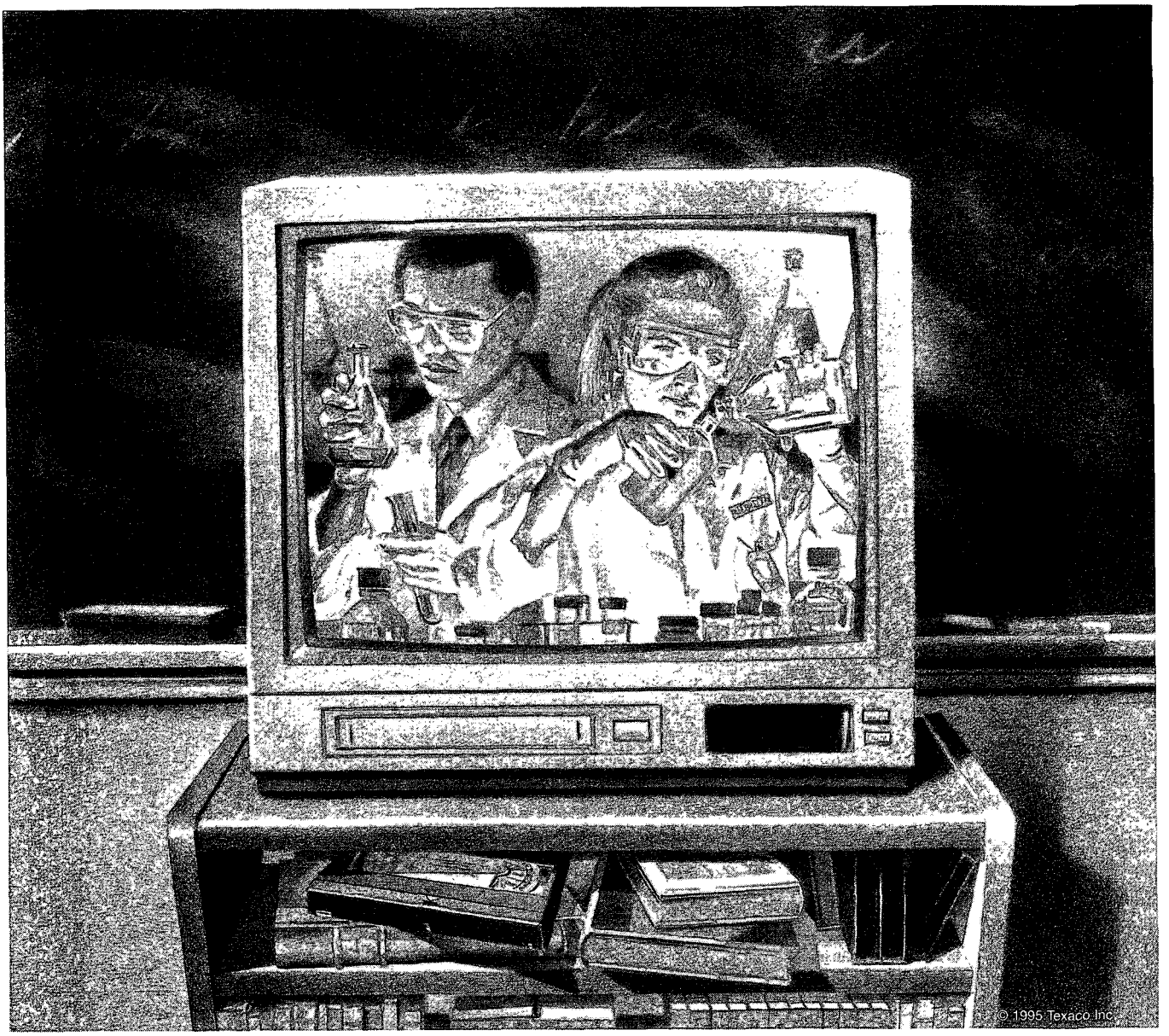

You'd be amazed at what kids are learning by watching TV.

Today, kids are greatly influenced by the most powerful of media, television.

Through the National Teacher Training Institute for Math, Science and Technology, television is being used in its most positive form.

Education.

NTTI trains teachers to use hands-on methods for incorporating television and emerging technologies into their science and math lessons. By the end of this school year, NTTI will have trained some 75,000 teachers in 25 states and the District of Columbia, bringing nearly 10 million school children closer to excellence in math and science.

Developed by public television station Thirteen/WNET in New York, in partnership with Texaco, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and public television stations around the country, NTTI has been commended by leaders in education and government, including the U.S. Department of Education.

Thanks to local public television stations and enthusiastic teachers nationwide, NTTI is helping to reform math and science education to enhance America's global competitiveness.

Texaco is proud to play a leadership role in this innovative effort.

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One idea has earned us stamps of approval everywhere we go.

Quality. It's a simple idea, and one that has become the foundation for our entire company. Headquartered in the U.S.A., Motorola now has 132,000 employees around the globe dedicated to the endless pursuit of perfection in everything we make and everything we do. Together with those who have chosen our products, they have helped make us a world leader in wireless communications, semiconductor technology and advanced electronics. Clearly, quality is one idea that knows no boundaries. That's why we say *quality means the world to us.*™

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